

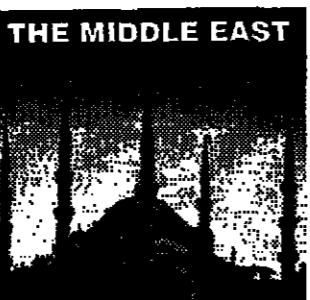


## THE MIDDLE EAST

00 pm pri

## Emir of Kuwait returns to battered homeland

By Michael Field in Kuwait



THE MIDDLE EAST

**SHEIKH** Jaber Ahmed Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait, returned to his devastated homeland yesterday to a low-key welcome two weeks to the day after the Gulf war ended.

There were few Kuwaitis on the streets leading to the airport to greet their ruler, though this may have been because little had been done to broadcast his return.

The emir, who fled to the mountain resort of Taif in neighbouring Saudi Arabia as Iraqi troops invaded, faces a tough task in rebuilding his once opulent country. He is also under pressure from the allied and many of his countrymen to introduce sweeping political reforms.

In the last two days the mood in Kuwait has become increasingly uneasy. There are reports, some confirmed by diplomatic and military sources, of small numbers of Palestinians being killed each day and many more being taken into custody.

At least half a dozen vigilante gangs have been formed, some by Palestinians for their own "defence", others by young members of the ruling family and others by resistance groups that sprang up during

while others had to queue to be cross-examined on their identities.

The prime minister, Sheikh Saad Abdullah, and other senior members of the Al-Sabah family, who have taken up residence in the house of the Al-Shaya family, owners of the burnt-out Sheraton Hotel, are trying to calm the situation from both their own family and the resistance.

The resistance leaders are different from the leaders of the old parliamentary opposition factions. They are younger, armed, and though not necessarily more radical or fundamentalist are often less patrician.

The prime minister has promised to bring back Kuwait's parliament, dissolved in 1986, reinstate the relatively liberal 1962 constitution and possibly give votes to women, but Kuwaitis are not convinced the ruling family really understands that democracy means having to tolerate obstruction and criticism from its opponents.

The promise by the emir to give every Kuwaiti citizen who stayed during the occupation KD500 - over £1,000 - reminds them of the old policy of trying to buy off criticism.

## New currency for Kuwaitis

**KUWAIT** will issue a new currency, perhaps within 10 days, to replace the pre-invasion dinar, central bank governor Sheikh Salem Abdul-Aziz Saad al-Sabah said yesterday, Reuter reports from Kuwait.

All deposits in Kuwaiti banks at the close of business on August 1 1990 - the eve of Iraq's invasion - would be honoured, he said.

Old Kuwaiti dinars held by the public in cash would be exchanged at par. Sheikh Salem said the central bank would take no responsibility for Iraqi dinars held by the public still in use to buy the few goods available in war-damaged Kuwait. After the

conquest Iraq put the Kuwaiti currency on a par with the Iraqi currency.

The Kuwaiti dinar had been worth just over \$3 (£1.60), while the Iraqi dinar was worth about 30 US cents.

"The exchange rate of the new currency will be dealt with within two weeks," the central bank chief said.

A top priority was to reopen central bank units and bank branches in Kuwait so the new currency could be distributed.

Officials are also trying to restart the computer centres of commercial banks to obtain full customer records.

Kuwait is still without mains electricity, running

water and most telephones. Shops and banks remain closed. Old Kuwaiti dinars, Iraqi dinars and US dollars are all in use in the small amount of business being conducted.

Kuwait aimed to streamline its banking system with three or four big banks, but mergers would take time because of a shortage of details about the financial position of each bank, the governor said.

Sheikh Salem said Iraqi troops looted Kuwaiti dinars 375m in cash from central bank vaults and stole gold bullion worth an estimated \$850m.

Details of money looted from other banks were still sketchy.

## Population to be cut by half

**KUWAIT** plans to halve its population to about a million to ensure that Kuwaiti nationals form a majority, western diplomats said yesterday. Reuter reports from Kuwait.

Hundreds of thousands of foreign workers who fled often to jobs in the wealthy Gulf emirate after Iraq's invasion last August 2 will not be allowed to return.

The diplomats, who quoted government sources, said the number of Kuwaitis permanently resident at home would stand at about \$50,000.

Palestinians would form the second largest community, with about 200,000. The balance would be made up of migrant

workers from Egypt, the Indian subcontinent and Asia, together with several thousand European and US managers and oil specialists.

One diplomat said the current population was no more than half a million, compared with 1.7m before the Gulf War.

"Most of them are in Kuwait city and a majority are Kuwaiti nationals," he said. "The government will want to keep that way."

The authorities are determined to prevent a return to the population mix before the seven-month Iraqi occupation.

When Kuwaitis were a minority of between 30 and 40 per cent in their own country.

## N Korean leader shuns the limelight

John Riddings finds the way is being laid for the son and heir

**C**AN IT be that President Kim Il Sung, North Korea's hard-line ruler and subject of one of history's most extreme personality cults, is seeking a lower profile?

Next year, to commemorate his 80th birthday, he will forego the statues, towers and monuments which traditionally mark the ending of a decade in the life of the "Great Leader". Instead, the big day will be marked by the opening of a new tram line and a new housing complex on Reunification Street.

"We were planning to build a huge bronze statue for his birthday," says Mr Shin Sok Hee, vice director of the Mansudae Arts Centre in Pyongyang, the nerve centre of North Korea's propagandist art industry.

"But when the Great Leader came to give us on-the-spot guidance on February 11 he ordered us to build a statue of working people instead," said a bemused Mr Shin.

There are several possible explanations for President Kim's newfound shyness. He may feel, after 45 years of self-promotion, that enough is enough. His picture seems

to hang from a wall in every building in North Korea and is pinned to the lapel of his brother.

The world's longest serving ruler may also have been influenced by the fate of his totalitarian counterparts. "He has seen the statues of Lenin, Ceausescu and Hoxha come tumbling down," says one diplomat stationed in Pyongyang. "This is bound to have made him a little nervous."

But perhaps the most plausible explanation is that North Korea's cult of personality is not waning, but merely shifting. Kim the elder may be moving aside for Kim the younger - his son and designated heir, the "Dear Leader" Kim Jong Il.

The first hereditary succession in a communist state has been gathering momentum for over a decade. Last year, however, the Dear Leader all but disappeared from the scene, as the spreading collapse of communism in Europe forced President Kim Il Sung to take a firm grip on the affairs of state.

But now, according to diplomats in Peking and Pyongyang, the Dear Leader's succession has been taken off the back

burner. With the President Kim having weathered international storms, they believe the succession could take place as early as next year, when the younger Kim celebrates his 50th birthday.

So Kim Jong Il, rather than Kim Il Sung, is now taking centre stage - literally. In two successive evenings of Pyongyang theatre entertainment, it was the Dear, rather than Great, Leader who was honoured by artistic feats.

A concert at the Pyongyang Arts Theatre last week featured the Song of the Kim Jong Il flower, named after the Dear Leader, grown by a Japanese horticulturalist.

More significantly, a performance the night before by the acrobatic troupe of the People's Army of Korea, the most powerful institution in North Korean politics, featured a dance dedicated to the heir apparent.

Korea watchers in Peking and Pyongyang believe that such antics are necessary to buttress the Dear Leader's image. "He doesn't have the charisma of his father" says one. "He has to be energetically promoted."

the US-led coalition evict Iraq from Kuwait.

• Up to 100,000 Thai workers have registered to work in the Middle East since the Gulf war ended, labour officials said yesterday, Reuter reports. The Labour Department hoped to send an initial group of 100,000 workers. As many as 130,000 Thai workers are in the region.

## Iraqis 'capture 7 towns' in Babylon

IRAQI rebels battling to oust President Saddam Hussein say they have captured the main city and seven towns in Iraq's central Babylon province and have executed the provincial governor and other senior officials, Reuter reports from Nicosia.

They said many of Mr Saddam's formidable Republican Guard were defecting to join their forces.

It was impossible to verify the reports. Iraq has expelled all foreign journalists.

Yesterday the Iraqi news agency INA said reports on Wednesday of clashes between Iraqi troops and demonstrators in the capital Baghdad were "fabricated, baseless and completely unfounded."

Meanwhile, a senior member of the US Senate Armed Services Committee predicted that the unrest would slow withdrawal of the 127,000 US troops still on Iraqi soil.

Senator William Cohen said it would be "irresponsible for us to simply pull out and then let the (Iraq) forces consume themselves without any direction or assistance or encouragement by the United States."

Hizbullah radio in Lebanon, quoting a communiqué from the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution said rebels had taken control of Babylon's capital Hillah, 60 miles south of Baghdad.

The rebels had also seized the surrounding towns of Iskandariya, Mahmudiya, Musayib, Yusufiya, Hindya, Qasim and Hamza.

Monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation it said the rebels had executed the provincial governor, the chief of police and the provincial chief of the ruling Baath party and the Hills security chief.

Iraq admitted on Wednesday for the first time that the country faced a series of uprisings and Tehran radio reported street protests in Baghdad.

The US State Department said the Baghdad unrest began on Tuesday, probably in Shula neighbourhoods in the eastern part of the capital.

Further south, Iraqi opposition radio in Basra, Iraq's second largest city and a centre of the two-week revolt, said rebels repulsed a Republican Guard attack, destroying 20 tanks and armoured vehicles, Tehran radio reported.

In Beirut, Sabih al-Hakim of the London-based Organisation of Human Rights in Iraq, told Vianews television agency:

"We are receiving news from inside Iraq that many members of the Republican Guards, either soldiers or officers, are joining now the Iraqi people, they surrender to them and then join them to fight the regime of Saddam Hussein."

Mr Hakim was among 200 Iraqi opposition leaders who attended a three-day conference in Beirut on Wednesday. He said many Iraqi POWs were refusing to be repatriated and the Iraqi government was hesitant about receiving them. "I think they (are) afraid those people may join the uprising."

## Iran tries to attract foreign investment

IRAN has made the strongest commitment to its private sector to date, in an effort to attract foreign investment, reports Scheherazade Daneshku.

Mr Mehdi Navab, Iran's deputy minister of economic affairs and finance told a Business International conference in London, that it was never the intention of the Islamic Republic to keep industries

other than Israel and South Africa's US companies have been trading directly with Iran but this is the first indication that they are welcome to invest in the country.

Mr Navab sought to reassure potential investors that Iranian law offers legal protection for private capital. Foreign investors will enjoy tax exemptions and their products will not be subject to price controls.

"Everything is ready for foreigners to come to Iran," said Mr Ali Mananvi, head of the central bank.

Mr Ali Mananvi said, "The central bank is ready to receive foreign investors to come to Iran," said Mr Ali Mananvi, head of the central bank.

The 12-tier exchange rate system was cut down to three tiers in January. He said that price controls have been removed from the private sector, which has been offered credit by the government.

The decision to borrow from abroad, ratified by the mullahs last year after a year's debate, also forms part of the new policy.

Mr Navab and his delegation - the most senior to attend a public conference of this type - presented the upbeat and competent face of President Hashemi Rafsanjani's government, in an effort to build bridges with the international business community.

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capture 7  
Babylon

## Fewer US bank failures in 1990

By Peter Riddell, US Editor, in Washington

US commercial bank profits fell further at the end of last year as a result of large write-offs on domestic loans, but the number of problem loans and failures decreased during 1990.

A new analysis by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation suggests that the number of US banks with serious problems remains limited and there is nothing comparable to the widespread weaknesses of the savings and loan business.

More than 87 per cent of the US's 12,340 banks remained profitable last year, while the number of failures dropped to 156 from 266 in 1989. The number of banks on the FDIC's "problem" list fell slightly to 1,012 from 1,032.

However, the number of larger banks with problems appears to have risen, and the totals set aside to cover expected loan losses increased again last year. At the end of last year some 2.9 per cent of all loans were not being paid on time or were so far overdue that banks had to repossess collateral assets.

The main problems were domestic, with fourth-quarter profits from home business of only \$1.1bn (259m) the lowest since quarterly records began in 1988.

But write-offs on Third World loans were much smaller last year than in 1989, so overall profits for the year rose nearly \$1bn to \$16.6bn. In 1990 the banks' foreign loan loss reserve was just \$1.5bn, down from \$10bn in 1989.

The House of Representatives finally, and narrowly, approved a compromise package to provide needed additional funding of \$30bn for the savings and loan rescue late on Wednesday. The deal followed the rejection on Tuesday of four alternative proposals to ensure that the rescue did not come to a virtual halt, which would have increased the losses by \$5m a day.

## Collor unveils reconstruction plan for Brazil

By Christina Lamb in Brasilia

BRAZIL'S President Fernando Collor marks one year in office today with the unveiling of a radical National Reconstruction Plan to promote growth and investment and reduce the role of the state.

The announcement is a calculated attempt to recapture credibility and divert attention from the lack of concrete achievements of the administration's year-old economic adjustment plan.

The cost of Mr Collor's battle to bring down inflation from 84 per cent a month to 22 per cent was widely regarded as excessive. The economy contracted 4.6 per cent last year and in the first two months of 1991 alone more than 101,000 workers were laid off in São Paulo, Brazil's biggest city. According to the São Paulo Federation of Industries, Brazil is now in its worst recession for 47 years.

The price freeze imposed last month to curtail a new spiraling of inflation already seems to be collapsing, with many sectors, such as coffee and white goods, illegally increasing prices. A national strike by Brazil's 60,000 petrol workers is now in its 18th day, putting fuel supplies at risk.

His comments marked a significant change of tack from his previous approach that of a "lone hunter stalking the inflation tiger". Instead of enforcing the plan by presidential decree, as with previous measures, Mr Collor presented it as "a collection of ideas to be discussed by society at all levels". Apparently last week's overwhelming Congress vote of 415 to 13 to curtail his powers of issuing laws by fiat has hit home, and in future the president intends more discussion.

The risk with Mr Collor's new approach is that many items in the new plan are likely to be rejected, particularly those requiring constitutional changes.

With no political base, the price President Collor may have to pay to win support for these measures could be extremely high.



Collor: year in office

Presenting the 100-page document to cabinet ministers and party leaders yesterday, President Collor called it "the first vision of what Brazil can be in the third millennium". Appealing for national understanding, he insisted: "No government can resolve the problems of society alone, only society can resolve itself."

These grassroots measures could well be sustained whatever Washington decides. Nevertheless, the prospect of the repeal of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act has alarmed the anti-apartheid movement in the US, which has enjoyed a virtual hammerlock on policy toward South Africa, thanks to majority support in Congress until recently for keeping sanctions in place.

Just hours before, the South African government tabled draft legislation to scrap all laws enforcing racial discrimination in residential areas and land ownership. The abolition of these laws, expected to be effective by mid-July, would bring Pretoria close to meeting the five conditions for lifting US sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

This would not in itself restore normal trade and investment links, however.

Last week, Mr Bush telephoned Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress

leader, informing him that he would soon consult Congress about lifting sanctions now that the South African government was close to complying with the 1986 Act.

Mr Mandela read out the ANC position on the Gulf, accusing Iraq and the multinational coalition of belligerent behaviour, but on sanctions he took a "do what you have to do" attitude, according to one US official.

Under the 1986 act, Mr Bush has the power to suspend or modify sanctions once four out of the five conditions are fulfilled. Most observers argue that Pretoria has met three conditions: lifting the state of emergency; entering "good faith negotiations" with the opposition; and legalising the ANC and other organisations.

Excluding the land tenure legislation tabled this week, the outstanding terms include the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the release of all political prisoners. The De Klerk government has pledged to resolve this last issue with the ANC by the end of April.

If all five conditions are met, the sanctions fall automatically. Increasingly, it appears that Mr Bush is leaning toward early, if only partial, lifting of sanctions as a goodwill gesture to Mr de Klerk which would match corresponding moves by the European Community.

Mr Bush, who has spoken regularly to Mr de Klerk since the South African leader visited the White House last September, wants to adopt measures which could be cast as improving contacts between the US and South Africa and helping black employment.

Mr Shawn McCormick, an African expert at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, says the most likely steps are removing the ban on South African Airways' landing rights in the US, lifting restrictions on imports of South African agricultural products and relaxing curbs on new US investment.

The question turns on timing. The administration wants to ensure that influential senators such as Mr David Boren of Oklahoma, Democratic chairman of the intelligence committee, and Mrs Nancy Kassebaum, Republican member on the Senate Foreign Relations committee, are on board before it moves. At the same time, the next focus of debate is

White House and State Department need to calm fears within the executive branch that lifting sanctions could provoke congressional retaliation.

By lifting sanctions Mr Bush will reassert executive branch control over South Africa policy, which Congress has dominated since 1986 when it imposed sanctions over President Ronald Reagan's veto.

The question is increasingly, is the ANC's Comité de l'Est to retain its influence," says Mr Witney Schneidman, a senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Centre in Washington DC.

Mr Schneidman believes that informed members of the House and Senate are starting to address this question. But he cautions that lifting economic sanctions will still not restore the status quo ante: the Rangel amendment subjects US corporations in South Africa to double taxation; the Gramm amendment restricts South Africa's access to the International Monetary Fund.

If, as Mr Schneidman suggests, the argument has moved beyond sanctions to a post-apartheid South Africa, these laws are likely to be the next focus of debate.

## AMERICAN NEWS

# Shift in US mood over S Africa sanctions

The anti-apartheid movement's dominance of policy is easing, writes Lionel Barber

PIKE LEE, the young black film director, arrived wearing a Malcolm X baseball cap. A Hollywood actress, who played Winnie Mandela in a recent TV "docu-drama", stood by in a coat, surrounded by silver-haired relatives of the 1960s civil rights movement.

Their mission: to lobby Mr Tom Foley, Democratic speaker of the House of Representatives, to continue support for US economic sanctions against South Africa. "Many chains have been adjusted on the decks of the Titanic," said one elderly representative, "but nothing has changed in the lives of ordinary people in South Africa."

Just hours before, the South African government tabled draft legislation to scrap all laws enforcing racial discrimination in residential areas and land ownership. The abolition of these laws, expected to be effective by mid-July, would bring Pretoria close to meeting the five conditions for lifting US sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

This would not in itself restore normal trade and investment links, however.

Some of the most effective sanctions have been imposed by state and local legislatures. Nearly half the states and more than 70 cities have taken actions ranging from selective purchasing and contracting in order to penalise companies with South African links, to disinvestment of funds from companies doing business with Pretoria.

These grassroots measures could well be sustained whatever Washington decides. Nevertheless, the prospect of the repeal of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act has alarmed the anti-apartheid movement in the US, which has enjoyed a virtual hammerlock on policy toward South Africa, thanks to majority support in Congress until recently for keeping sanctions in place.

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## Retrial may be sought for Chicago futures traders

By Barbara Durr in Boca Raton

THE US government said yesterday it would seek to re-trial a group of 12 yen futures traders acquitted on Wednesday on a majority of more than 200 fraud counts against them.

The jury, in Chicago, could not reach a verdict on 50 more counts, including racketeering charges against four of the 12, and it is on at least some of these deadlocked charges that the government would seek fresh proceedings.

The results of the trial, the last of three important cases to arise from a two-year Federal Bureau of Investigation probe of the futures pits, is a severe blow for the US government. Prosecutors had charged that fraud was widespread in the futures pits, but in two of the three trials they have failed to prove it.

Mr Fred Foreman, the US attorney in Chicago, was undeterred by this week's setback. He pledged to continue "vigorously to investigate and prosecute the insidious crime of fraud in the exchanges".

However, officials of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange were rejoicing over

the verdict. "After two years of investigation and two years of trial and trial preparation, our members have been - in large measure - exonerated," said Mr John Sandner, chairman of the CME.

The verdict has delighted the futures industry, which is gathered in Florida this week for its annual meeting. Industry officials are charging that several million US taxpayer dollars have been wasted on a government investigation that was overblown and has largely failed.

The government did, however, win 10 convictions in the two previous trials and many of the 48 traders indicted in the investigation have pleaded guilty.

Two other trials are also pending. Two yen traders are to be tried separately because their defence conflicted with those of their colleagues. They contend that everyone bent or broke the rules and that they simply did what others did. Two Swiss franc traders are to be re-tried on a large number of counts on which their jury could not decide.

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Emirates

## US inventories rise as sales drop

US BUSINESS inventories rose in January as sales fell, indicating that more production cuts will be needed to balance demand and supply, Michael Prowse writes from Washington.

The Commerce Department said the combined value of manufacturers' shipments and sales in the retail and wholesale trades fell 1.2 per cent between December and January to \$23.6bn (\$23.8bn). Year-on-year decline was 1 per cent.

Inventories in the manufacturing and distributive trades rose 0.4 per cent to \$814.4bn, 2.2 per cent above the level of January 1990.

The ratio of inventories to sales rose from 1.53 to 1.56, the highest level since early 1987. This was the second successive sharp monthly increase in the ratio and a sign that the recession was biting hard in forecasting.

Many economists are forecasting a mild recession because companies have kept relatively tight control of inventories. The rising ratio of inventories to sales indicates that industrial output has not been cut fast enough to keep pace with falling demand.

## Decision on TV re-runs deferred

THE long-awaited decision by the Federal Communications Commission on whether television networks should continue to be prevented from entering the highly profitable television re-run and syndication business has been deferred, at the request of the Justice Department, which wants more time to review the proposed new rules, writes Peter Riddell.

At present the networks are barred from controlling the syndication rights to re-runs of programmes if they are shown on independent television stations. The profits now go to Hollywood's studios and producers.

A 3-2 majority of commissioners had been preparing to allow the networks very limited authority to enter the \$3bn-plus re-run market, requiring them to buy at least 60 per cent of prime-time schedule from outside producers.

Against the fierce opposition of the Motion Picture Association of America, the networks (ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox) had pressed for the right to produce shows they can sell on the re-run market after a first prime-time showing.

For the purpose of privatisation, tenders are hereby invited for hotels/inns with a maximum capacity of 60 rooms.

The lists of properties, drawn up according to the (former) districts of the German Democratic Republic, are available at the branch offices of the Treuhandanstalt as of 21 March 1991.

Standard forms of contracts, valuation guidelines and asking prices may be inspected. It is not possible to send documents

Branch offices are located at the following addresses:

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| Chemnitz       | 9006 Henriettstraße 16-18          |
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## THE SOVIET REFERENDUM

## Gorbachev's hasty gamble

By Quentin Peel in Moscow

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev's referendum this Sunday on the preservation of the Soviet Union should have been a foregone conclusion.

Surely a clear majority of the nation, and above all of Russia, the Motherland, would not dream of dismantling the empire? There may be a few rebellious outlying republics which want to quit, but the Soviet leader and his aides calculated that a plea for national unity was the one issue on which they could be sure of a positive response from the mass of the people.

In the event, the first-ever referendum in Soviet history is beginning to look increasingly like a gamble, its outcome messy, meaningless, and quite possibly counter-productive for all who hope to keep the country intact.

The expectation is still that the answer will be "Yes" to Mr Gorbachev's wacky question: "Do you consider necessary the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics, in which the rights and freedoms of an individual of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?" But it is unlikely to be resounding.

There may well be widespread abstentions, above all in the rebellious republics where the question is most relevant. It seems unlikely that the referendum will even be legally valid - with at least 50 per cent of registered voters turning out - in any of the Baltic republics, or in Armenia, Georgia and Moldavia.

Worse for Mr Gorbachev is the confusion now rife in his own political backyard: in the Slavic republics of Russia, Ukraine and Belarusia, and in the traditionally conservative republic of central Asia.

The very fact of holding a referendum has stirred a new bout of anti-Gorbachev and anti-Communist party demonstrations, to compound the present acute political tension, ethnic rivalry and economic depression gripping the country.

As for the question, it has left many voters more confused. It is not that they are being asked simply if they want to preserve a unitary state. That state is defined as Soviet and Socialist. And when they are immediately told it is going to be renewed in an unspecified way. It is more like three questions than one.



The president must be regretting having called the poll in the first place

The trouble is that the whole referendum was really a short-term political manoeuvre, typical of the Soviet leader, albeit over a crucial long-term issue. It was on December 17, at the Congress of People's Deputies, that he suddenly produced the idea of not one, but two referendums: this would be the first, on the very idea of preserving a unitary state. The second would be on the fundamental issue of whether to allow private ownership of land.

In the first place, Mr Gorbachev was seeking to call the bluff of all those republics, including Russia itself, which were playing hard to get in signing a new Union Treaty to keep the nation together.

Second, he specifically wanted to call the bluff of the Baltic republics, whose

nationalist parliaments are set on total secession. They had been refusing to hold a referendum on secession, on the grounds that they were never legally part of the Soviet Union in the first place: they were forcibly occupied by the Red Army in 1940.

Third, he wanted to persuade the Congress of Deputies to grant him new powers as president to re-impose order on the country. Given the accusations of his own growing powers of dictatorship, he thought it wise to give himself simultaneously something that looked like a popular mandate. In the end, he has been landed with a question which makes his whole task more difficult.

It was the Communist party itself, through the Supreme Soviet, which

insisted that the words "Soviet" and "Socialist" should be included in the definition of the union. Mr Gorbachev himself simply wanted it to be called a "union of sovereign republics".

This week Mr Grigory Revenko, his closest adviser on the Union Treaty, argued to argue that the referendum was not about "names", but about preserving the union *per se*. He suggested that the extra words were irrelevant - not least because they are no longer included in the draft Union Treaty, and several republics no longer call themselves either Soviet or Socialist. And anyway, the ballot papers are printed.

Nevertheless, the fact of the referendum, and the sloppy wording of the question, has allowed Mr Gorbachev's opponents, led by Mr Boris Yeltsin, to exploit the whole event as a vote of confidence in the Soviet leader and his government. They argue that a "No" vote is a vote against Mr Gorbachev's idea of a union, not against the union.

Yet the opposition is split. Some want an outright "No" vote. Many others argue for a boycott. Others say that while the whole exercise is an expensive (Rhe100m-110m, says Mr Revenko) waste of time, you cannot actually call for the disintegration of the union.

Current polls still predict a 50 per cent or more "Yes" vote for the union. That is still scarcely resounding, especially if the turnout is low. And the mood is highly volatile.

Heavy-handed official propaganda has re-surfaced on the streets, while state television is ramming the Gorbachev line down everyone's throat.

The latest purely Russian poll, carried out by Mr Yeltsin's parliament, suggests that only 50 per cent will vote "Yes", some 32 per cent of Russians will vote against the preservation of their union, and the rest will stay away.

Against that, there is always the possibility of some solid ballot-rigging, especially in central Asia, where 90 per cent-plus polls for Communist party leaders are still commonplace.

So the Central Asians will vote to keep it, the Russians will prevaricate, and the assorted Balts and Georgians will not vote at all. Mr Gorbachev should get what he needs, but probably in a way he could have done without. He must be regretting having had the idea in the first place.

## Rebel republics see poll as tactic to delay independence

By Leyla Boulton in Moscow

SIX republics intent on leaving the Soviet Union are refusing to deal with Estonia. "They do not want on the run," complained Mr Linnam.

However, Mr Anatolii Gor-

abzhia (whose only 17 per

cent of inhabitants are ethnic

Azerbaijani) will be holding a refer-

endum in defiance of an appeal

by Mr Gamsakhurdia not to

co-operate with Georgia's "hi-

storic enemies".

Georgia is planning its own referendum on March 31, when voters will be asked to show their support for the republic's 1918 declaration of indepen-

dence, which paved the way for a short-lived Georgian state. That was crushed by the Bolsheviks three years later.

Work collectives in Moldavia's second city of Tiraspol, which is dominated by Russian-speakers, will be holding their own referendum, as will local authorities in the Chris-

tian-Turkish Gagauz region. The Red Army has said it will be opening 50 military polling stations right across Moldavia for anybody who wishes to take part in the all-union referendum.

Armenia, which like Georgia

was a republic of the Soviet Union, has declared it plans to secede after a transition period will be boycotting the referendum. But it seems that Armenia's

constitution of Moscow's problems, partly because the republic's shrewd-nationalist president, Mr Levon Ter-Petrosian, is going out of his way to avoid a showdown with the Kremlin.

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By Quentin Peel in Moscow

THE principal question in the Soviet referendum this Sunday is already an embarrassment to the Soviet authorities.

However, many of the country's voters will have to answer second, or even third questions put by their republican and local authorities, each one loaded with political implications for power between the centre and the republics, and between the Communist party and its opponents.

The only republic in the country which looks like having a reasonably straightforward question is Kazakhstan, where President Nursultan Nazarbayev has simply ignored Moscow's orders.

He has substituted his own local version.

The variations are all being asked in each case, if they want their republics to remain part of the Union.

One definite outcome will be voter confusion on Sunday.

## Moscow's CFE stance concerns Nato

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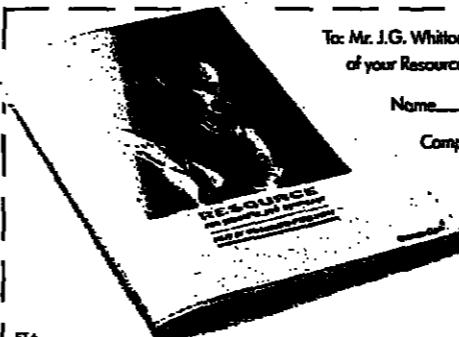
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## EUROPE IN BRIEF

**Brussels calls for ship aid review**

The European Commission asked the Belgian government to review the terms of the subsidised financing of nine ships, which exceeded the amounts of state aid to shipbuilding allowed under European Community rules, David Gardner writes from Brussels.

Seven of the vessels received soft loans equivalent to 85 per cent of the construction costs. This amounts to a 35 per cent subsidy, the Commission said. The maximum allowed in 1989, the year the contract was signed, was 26 per cent. Two smaller ships, in receipt of concessionary loans equivalent to 25 per cent of the production cost, exceeded the 16 per cent aid ceiling set for vessels of that class.

The outcome of this case depends in part on a decision expected soon from the European Court of Justice. The Belgian government has appealed against a previous Commission decision which judged state aid to three other shipbuilding contracts to exceed the ceiling.

## Tougher rape penalties urged

European governments should toughen penalties against men who rape or attack women, Belgium's minister responsible for social affairs said.

They should also train police and courts to deal more sympathetically with victims, Minister Miet Smet told the

opening of a pan-European ministerial conference. A study prepared for the conference, organised said 64 per cent of Greek women interviewed said they had been raped.

## EC urged to aid Albania

The European Parliament urged the European Community to give Albania emergency aid to stem a flood of refugees leaving for Italy.

The EC's executive Commission is considering a request for aid and diplomatic ties with the Community from Albania, the last bastion of communism in Central Europe. It has already promised Ecu 1.3m of emergency aid for Albanian refugees in Italy and Ecu 500,000 for those in Greece.

## German police criticised

The European Parliament criticised German border police for imposing medical examinations on German women suspected of having abortions in the Netherlands.

Several women have complained they were subjected to compulsory medical examinations by border police after returning from the Netherlands. The German interior ministry said it was aware of only two cases in recent years.

Abortion is illegal in West Germany except where medical dispensation is obtained.

## Swedish party on fun ticket

A new Swedish political party, dedicated to making life more fun by lowering taxes and firing parking wardens, is winning over voters at the expense of the ruling Social Democrats, an opinion poll showed.

The survey in the business daily *Dagens Industri* put support for the New Democracy Party at 11.8 per cent, making it the country's third most popular.

## Brussels drops plan for EC-wide food agency

By David Buchan in Brussels

THE European Commission has abandoned plans for a Europe-wide food safety agency after being swamped by applications from companies seeking approval for food additives and packaging.

Instead Brussels is turning to national agencies. It will set up a central secretariat in Brussels, which will farm out to various national food safety institutes the job of checking the laboratory tests submitted by manufacturers.

The move follows the passage of a food legislation which either gives the EC Scientific Committee on Food (SCF) the sole right to approve food additives for sale in the Community, or only limits national authorisation to two years, after which EC approval is needed.

As a result, manufacturers are no longer bothering to go first to national food safety authorities for tests which then have to be redone by the EC, but are going straight to Brussels.

Some 120 applications have been filed in food packaging alone in the first two months of this year, far outstripping the capacity of the few EC food safety specialists.

The EC dropped the goal of harmonising food ingredients and creating, say, Euro-sauces or Euro-chocolate, in favour of recognising the diverse tastes of EC citizens, provided all food met certain basic safety standards. These standards are contained in EC rules on additives, packaging, flavouring and contaminants.

The Commission has withdrawn proposals on telecommunications, environment and biotechnology because they have been too radically changed by the Council of Ministers. The move will delay the planning of nearly a quarter of the EC's 1990-94 high-tech research programme worth Ecu 5.7bn (£7.4bn).



German chancellor Helmut Kohl posed with Israel's foreign minister David Levy in front of his collection of minerals yesterday. Bonn told Mr Levy that Germany favoured Israel's preference for direct talks with its Arab neighbours rather than an international Middle East conference

## Bonn eases telephone link rules

By David Goodhart in Bonn

THE German Post Ministry has eased the conditions for establishing satellite telephone links to east Germany but the voice link has proved uneconomic in view of the ministry's three year time limit.

The ministry announced last August that it was suspending conditionally the state monopoly on voice traffic, but since then only one company, Preussische Elektra, of west Germany, has successfully applied for a satellite voice traffic licence.

One company, Teleport

More than a dozen companies have received licences for non-voice satellite links to east Germany but the voice link has proved uneconomic in view of the ministry's three year time limit.

That limit has now been extended to six years. In addition the ministry has waived the condition that Telekom, the state telephone company, must be given two months to see if it can offer a voice link.

One company, Teleport

Europe, announced yesterday at the Cebit computer fair in Hanover that it intended to take advantage of the more relaxed regulations for satellite voice links. Teleport Europe is a joint venture of MAN, Hoechst, Matra, Preussag and Preussische Elektra.

Also at Cebit, Mr Christian Schwarz-Schilling, the post minister, predicted that by the end of next year "the telephone problem will no longer be an issue in east Germany".

## Greece presses on with cement sale despite EC hitch

By Kerin Hope in Athens

GREECE is pushing ahead with the sale of Heracles General Cement, a state-controlled producer, despite legal obstacles arising from the way it was nationalised by the former socialist administration.

The Industrial Reconstruction Organisation, which is trying to sell more than 20 debt-burdened Greek companies nationalised in the early 1980s, has asked a dozen foreign banks and investment firms to submit proposals for handling the sale. IRO has appointed N.M. Rothschild, the British merchant bank, as its adviser on privatisation.

Mr Yiannis Piperioglou, secretary of the government's privatisation committee, said yesterday IRO would "select a financial adviser for the Heracles sale by the end of the month". Several big European cement producers have shown interest in acquiring it.

With market capitalisation of Dr176bn (E580m), Heracles is much the largest IRO company and one of the few operating at a profit. It claims to be Europe's biggest cement exporter, earning Dr3.45bn on turnover of Dr31.4bn in 1989.

The conservative government is pressing IRO to dispose of companies quickly in order to cover this year's budget provision of Dr200m in investment revenues.

Heracles was nationalised in 1983 when the Socialist government ruled that Dr270m in debts owed to the state-owned National Bank should be captured, giving the bank control of 70 per cent of the company's shares.

But this method of writing off debt violated European Community rules on fair competition. The European Commission had told the government to reverse the capitalisation or repay the debt.

Separately, the European Court is expected to uphold an opinion issued by its Advocate General in January, holding that a similar share increase imposed on another IRO company, the textile manufacturer Velika, was invalid because shareholders were not consulted.

An Athens court hearing on the Velika case was adjourned last week until after the European Court issues its ruling, indicating that a similar decision will be handed down according to Greek legal analysts.

A judgment in favour of Velika's owners would not affect the sale of Heracles.

## Craxi challenges Andreotti with call for new government

By John Wyles in Rome

THE distant thunder of an Italian political crisis yesterday threatened the 20 month-old coalition led by Mr Giulio Andreotti when Mr Bettino Craxi, the Socialist Party leader, called for the formation of a new government if early elections are to be avoided.

Mr Craxi's speech to his party's national assembly has been eagerly awaited in Rome for indications about whether

he would use his pivotal position between left and right in the Italian parliament to force the demise of Mr Andreotti's coalition.

His long address yesterday indicated that he did not consider elections before June 1992 - when the poll is due constitutionally - as "something inevitable". But his message to the veteran Christian Democrat prime minister was that a

new government should set a specific timetable on several policy issues.

Mr Craxi wants fresh measures on five priorities he recently outlined: further stabilisation of public finances, institutional reforms, the fight against organised crime, preparations for the European single market and the development of Italy's international role. The forthcoming negotiations on a

renewal of the coalition's political programme leaves Mr Craxi the option of forcing a breakdown and early elections. The crucial unknown is to what extent he will try to insist on his own programme for institutional reform, based on a consultative referendum on whether to bring in a more presidential system of government. This is opposed by all other coalition parties as well as the main opposition party, the Party of the Democratic Left. But an underlying theme of the negotiations will be who succeeds Mr Francesco Cossiga as president in next summer and who will succeed Mr Andreotti after the next elections. The prime minister wants to survive another year to be in position to run for the presidency and Mr Craxi wants to be the next prime minister.

## WORLD TRADE NEWS

## Asian tigers discover Japan is still king of the jungle

Taiwanese and Korean exporters are hooked on Japanese imports, write John Riddings and Peter Wickenden

**T**AIWAN and South Korea, traditionally the export dynamos of East Asia, have usually had to worry about surpluses with trading partners, not deficits.

Their spectacular export performances in the 1980s created, as a proportion of gross national product, the world's largest current account surpluses and fuelled trade tensions with the US.

But with these imbalances easing, they are moving towards equilibrium, their deficit with Japan, the flipside of their export drives, are climbing.

Figures released this month show that last year South Korea's trade deficit with its neighbour across the Korea Strait rose by 48.7 per cent to \$5.94bn, more than double its \$2.42bn surplus with the US. Taiwan's deficit with Japan was \$7.6bn - a 9.8 per cent increase over 1989. With the imbalances widening, concerns about dependence on Japanese imports are being voiced in Seoul and Taipei.

Last summer, at a low point in Taiwanese-Japanese relations, Mr Chiang Bing Kun, Taiwan's vice economics minister, accused Tokyo of "grovelling" to Peking by refusing to address trade issues in direct talks with the nationalist government in Taipei.

Officials in Seoul have been less strident, placing the blame with their exporters as much as with Japan. None the less, the yawning bilateral imbalance was near the top of the agenda when Mr Toshiaki Kaita, Japan's prime minister, visited Seoul this year.

Korean and Taiwanese exports on Japanese imports goes back to their experience of Japanese colonisation in the first half of the century.

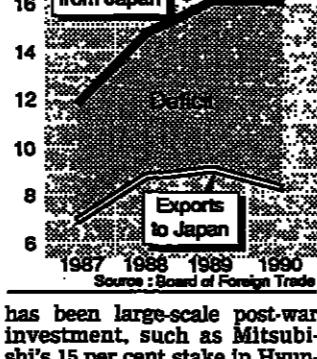
The young technicians who were trained to use Japanese machinery, and who generally speak Japanese, are now the middle aged business men running Taiwan's biggest manufacturing groups.

Post-war investment flows have further intertwined the two economies. According to Taiwan's Investment Commission, Japan last year overtook the US to become the biggest foreign investor in Taiwan.

In South Korea, too, there

**Taiwan**  
Trade with Japan (\$bn)  
Imports from Japan

**South Korea**  
Trade with Japan (\$bn)  
Imports from Japan



Source: Board of Foreign Trade

Source: MTI

parts and capital equipment. In Korea, too, Japan is the largest supplier of capital equipment and machinery.

In the first 11 months of last year, Korean imports of Japanese machinery and transport equipment rose by about one-third to \$5.58bn. Imports of electronic equipment rose by 29 per cent to \$4.89bn.

This surge in imports of capital equipment, mirrored in Taiwan, reflects a restructuring in the Korean economy as

industry seeks to overcome higher labour costs and competition from cheaper regional producers by upgrading productivity, increasing quality and raising value added.

Together with the strong increases in domestic consumption in Korea and until last year in Taiwan it explains the unusual coincidence of single digit export growth and double digit import growth.

As the restructuring of their industries proceeds, government in both Korea and Taiwan are pressuring domestic businesses to diversify their sources of supply. But so far they have had little success.

Businesses continue to buy Japanese equipment because of the quality, cost and existing business relationships, argues Mr Lee Duk Hoon, counsellor to Korea's economic planning minister.

Given the continued importance of Japanese equipment in the restructuring of their industries, officials in both countries see the solution to their trade imbalances in expanding exports to Japan.

But here, too, there are difficulties. Last year, Korean exports to Japan fell by 6 per cent, while Taiwanese shipments fell by 7.9 per cent.

"We have been losing the battle in price competitiveness," argues Mr Lee, who points to the depreciation of the yen at the beginning of 1990 and the impact of higher Korean production costs.

Prospects for this year are considered brighter following the strengthening of the yen and relatively modest wage rises last year. But, again, there are structural problems hindering exports to Japan.

"The three economies are quite similar in terms of industrial structure and hence are not complementary," argues Korea's ministry of trade and industry. "Moreover, imports of Japanese products from their overseas operations in south-east Asia are cutting us out of the bottom end of the market where we used to have an advantage."

Without a significant improvement in exports to Japan, the Korean and Taiwanese deficits are likely to get worse before they get better.

## HK road scheme secures finance

By John Elliott in Hong Kong

THE BANK of China and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation have joined with Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank of Japan as lead managers for a \$400m syndicated project loan facility to finance a 121-kilometre six-lane toll road from the border of Hong Kong through the southern Chinese province of Guangdong to the city of Guangzhou (Canton).

They are each putting up \$100m, with the rest coming from another 26 Asian and European banks. The arrangement is the merchant banking arm of the Bank of China and of the Hongkong Bank - China Development Finance (HK) and Wardley Capital.

The scheme was first proposed 12 years ago by Mr Gordon Wu, a Hong Kong-based construction entrepreneur whose Hopewell Holdings has other infrastructure projects in China, the Philippines and Bangkok. Hopewell will build and operate the road for the Guangdong provincial government, which will take 60 per cent of the profits.

Yesterday Mr Wu said that he "might have had second thoughts" 12 years ago if he had known the difficulties he would face. The feasibility of the road has been constantly questioned and land acquisition has delayed construction.

The financial backers are confident of profits because the highway will run through China's most developed and populous industrial area up the east side of the Pearl River estuary, which includes the special economic zone of Shenzhen, where a new airport opens within a year, and the industrial city of Dongguan.

Foundation and substructure works are already under way and the road is scheduled to be completed in four years - which Mr Wu said he intends to cut to just over two.

Mr Wu plans a further 180km section in 1993 running from Guangzhou down the west side of the Pearl Delta to Zhuhai and to Macao.

## British engineers win more construction contracts

By Andrew Taylor, Construction Correspondent

BRITISH consulting engineers last year won contracts on international construction projects worth £16bn, a rise of 10 per cent on 1989, the British Association of Consulting Engineers (ACE) said yesterday.

Construction companies from Europe and the US have recently seen an increase in overseas orders after a slump in the mid-1980s following a fall in oil prices and the emergence of a serious debt crisis among many developing countries.

The rise in new work was greatest in the Far East, and seems likely to continue this year. There was also a sharp recovery in the Middle East.

Mr Tom Douglas, the associ-

ation's chairman, said the rebuilding of Kuwait would provide British companies with opportunities for work although latest reports suggested that structural damage had been less than first feared.

Last week a joint venture between Cementation the construction arm of Trafalgar House, the UK engineering, property, shipping and hotels group and Balfour, part of BICC engineering group, said it had won a £200m contract to build a hydro-electric power station in Malaysia.

It said consulting engineers had contributed £480m to Britain's invisible earnings last year compared with £245m in 1989.

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## UK NEWS



## BRITAIN IN BRIEF



## BSkyB to spend £30m on marketing

British Sky Broadcasting plans to spend up to £30m this year marketing its new combined five channel satellite television service.

Mr Gary Davey, deputy managing director of BSkyB, made the announcement as he outlined plans for the satellite company's new combined service.

From the middle of next month BSkyB, a company in which Pearson, publishers of the Financial Times, has a significant stake, will broadcast a common service on both the Astra satellite system and on the BSB satellites.

There will be two subscription channels, Sky One, the general entertainment channel, Sky News and Sky Sports.

Mr Davey said yesterday that since the merger of Sky and BSB in November the average viewing of the four Sky channels had increased from 7 hours a week to 10 hours.

Compared to the ITV audience, the Sky audience was markedly younger and predominantly middle-market.

BSkyB says that over 2.3m homes will be able to get its unified service via home dish, cable networks or communal aerials. Of the total, 1.3m homes have satellite dishes.

## Water charges may double

UK householders have been warned they face a doubling of their water charges by the turn of the century.

The increases were vital to pay for a massive £280m clean-up to sewage disposal works and improvements to drinking water quality, said Mr Michael Carnay, secretary of the Water Services Association.

An average domestic water charge of £156 this year will almost certainly be more than £300 by the year 2000.

## Heath urges tax caution

A greater role for local government was urged yesterday by Mr Edward Heath, the former prime minister, as he outlined plans for the satellite company's new combined service.

Mr Heath, a consistent critic of Mrs Thatcher's premiership, praised Mr John Major, but warned that government had become too centralised since 1979.

"Far from reducing local authorities to little more than street cleaning supervisors, we should be attempting to build up a more professional form of local government, not only to ease the burden on central government but also to increase the democratic accountability in this country," he said.

He added that Mr Michael Heseltine should make it clear soon the poll tax was dead, without being pressurised into a quick announcement about any possible replacements.

• The Liberal Democrats gather for their local government conference today, buoyed up by the NOP poll in today's Independent.

newspaper showing them on 18 per cent, and saying they are ready for a general election as early as 2 May.

Mr Des Wilson, the campaign director, said that extensive pre-planning had taken place in order to avoid the mistakes of the 1987 contest and prepare for an integrated campaign.

## Tecs heads' boycott threat

Senior representatives of the new employer-led Training and Enterprise Councils will be urged to boycott a meeting with Mr Michael Howard, the Employment Secretary, on Monday if agreement is not reached on a mutually agreed agenda for discussion.

Mr David Dickinson, a director of Stanhope Properties and a member of G10, the group of 10 Tech chairmen who regularly meet with Mr Howard, has threatened to urge the boycott if the Department of Employment does not have a state discussion of a possible temporary work option onto the agenda.

The Department of Employment said only that: "G10 is free to raise any issues it wants at the meeting."

## New transport policy urged

There is no possibility that enough roads can be built in the UK to accommodate the forecast traffic growth, says the transport studies unit of Oxford University.

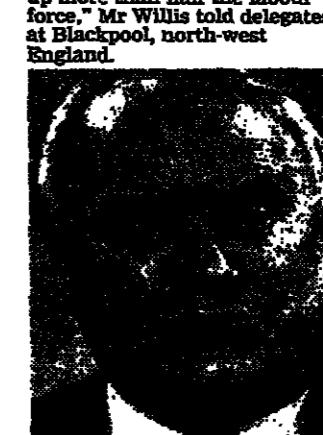
However many roads are built, the study says, congestion will become more widespread, and management of demand will have to replace the provision of supply as the focus of transport policy.

According to Transport Department forecasts, road traffic is forecast to be between 83 per cent and 142 per cent higher than 1988 levels by the year 2025.

## Better deal for women urged

Trades Union Congress general secretary Norman Willis has pledged a better deal for women workers as the TUC women's conference called for the fight against sexual harassment at work to be stepped up.

"In little more than four or five years women will make up more than half the labour force," Mr Willis told delegates at Blackpool, north-west England.



Willis: called on employers to combat harassment

"That means we will make progress, not only if we are seen to be responsive to the needs of women, but increasingly that we are seen to be run by women."

The TUC's fight against sexual harassment at work was backed by delegates. A new set of guidelines has called on employers to have a policy to combat harassment and a procedure for dealing with it.

## Minister to study crash

Roads minister Christopher Chope has said that the government would look hard at any lessons that could be learnt from the motorway

pile-up on Wednesday morning in which ten people died and 25 injured.

Responding to the calls for automatic fog warning lights on motorways, Mr Chope said: "As the highway authority we provide the matrix signs and what is actually put on these signs is a matter for the police."

Mr Chope added that it appeared people were driving far too fast.

## Tough Revenue line on loans

The Inland Revenue has told more than 100 employees that it is to stop paying interest on bridging loans they took out when moving jobs around the time of the property market crash in the late 1980s.

The need for loans continued much longer than the Inland Revenue intended because employees have been unable to get the kind of offers expected on their original homes and so have held on to their properties.

## Prince attacks farm critics

The Prince of Wales has strongly attacked critics of organic farming who he said labelled the movement a "drop-out option for superannuated hippies."

In a passionate plea for greener farming, he called for radical reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Under CAP farmers were encouraged to produce excess food with intensive farming relying on fertilisers and manufactured animal feed, he said.

It was "wrong-headed and thoroughly unhelpful" to regard farming as just another business, said the Prince.

"Farmers were the long-term stewards of the land, a precious natural resource," and they had to be supported to look after the countryside.

## Ulster's political leaders challenged to accept talks

By Ralph Atkins in London and Kieran Cooke in Dublin

NORTHERN Ireland's political leaders are being challenged to accept or reject by Easter plans for talks on the province's political future in a calculated gamble by the British government.

The Irish republic last night agreed to proposals set out by Mr Peter Brooke, Northern Ireland secretary, for talks covering alternatives to the 1985 Anglo-Irish agreement and devolved government in the province.

Mr Brooke told MPs: "The moment for decision has come." He sent copies of his proposals, which were approved by the full Cabinet yesterday, to Unionist leaders and the nationalist Social Democrat and Labour Party (SDLP). They are not negotiable, he said. Dublin's copy was personally recommended to the Irish Republic by Mr John Major, prime minister.

The minister's challenge comes after 14 months of "talks about talks" that have floundered in recent months on points of detail. His carefully constructed comments will force the Unionists and SDLP to decide soon whether they are prepared to bridge the remaining gaps - or be the party that sinks the initiative.

Mr Brooke said he would publish the document once it has been accepted by the other parties.

had received the parties' responses - whether they accepted it or not. Leaders of the parties involved would then be accountable to their electorates.

The Irish government's swift reaction reflected a keenness to participate in talks. Mr Charles Haughey, the Irish prime minister, expressed his "confidence that the talks will now get under way and proceed to a successful conclusion."

The SDLP's reaction was encouraging but non-committal. Mr Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, said the document would be "examined very carefully and very positively."

Mr John Taylor, Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford, welcomed the decision, saying his party had been "keen on talks within Northern Ireland and eventually with Dublin".

Unionist object to the Anglo-Irish agreement because of the influence it gives Dublin in the province's internal affairs.

Another obstacle has been whether the Unionist parties would, in the second phase of talks, form part of a UK delegation led by Mr Brooke or negotiate independently.

Mr Brooke, who acknowledged all sides have a veto, said he would make a statement to the Commons before the Easter recess if his plan was accepted.

## UK ECONOMY

## Unemployed total hits 2m and more job losses feared

By Peter Marsh, Economics Staff

UNEMPLOYMENT in Britain rose by 85,000 last month to reach 2m for the first time since February 1988, according to government figures yesterday.

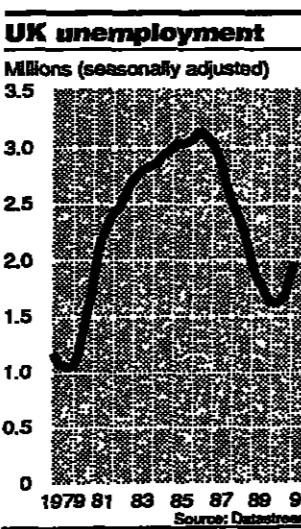
The higher-than-expected monthly rise was the biggest since late 1980, and the fifth largest on record. It pushed the seasonally adjusted jobless total to 1,977,200 and underlined concern that the recession has yet to show signs of bottoming out.

Headline, or unadjusted unemployment, now stands at 2,045,376, and looks set to reach around 2.75m by the end of the year.

However, the gloom from jobless front failed to prevent shares on the London stock market from surging to a new all-time closing high, triggered by hopes that the government would cut base rates from 13 per cent on or around budget day next Tuesday.

The FTSE 100 index closed at 2,500.6 up 524 on an day and some 40 points above the previous closing high, scored in January 1990. If it is driven mainly by the assumption that economic growth will pick up around the summer and was helped by the strong performance of European bourses and on Wall Street.

With news of unemployment's 11th successive monthly rise, came bleak survey of prospects for the distributive trades industry from the Financial Times and the Con-



Source: Department of Employment

A reduction in the annual increase in average earnings, from 9.4 per cent in December 1990 to 9.2 per cent in January, was the first decline in this number since October, and will help the government's battle to control inflation.

Mr Michael Howard, employment secretary, said the change was encouraging, although Britain had "a long way to go yet" on wage restraint.

Employment Department officials said the reduced figures for pay rises was due less to modernised wage settlements than to a reduction in overtime hours and a greater amount of short-time working, particularly in manufacturing.

Since unemployment began increasing in March 1990, 315,000 men and 54,600 women have lost their jobs.

The proportion of the workforce without a job is now 7.0 per cent, up from 6.7 per cent in January and 6.5 per cent in December.

Britain's retailers may have seen the worst of the recession, but the latest distributive trades survey from the Financial Times and Confederation of British Industry points to continued deterioration of business conditions in the wholesale and motor trades.

The survey showed retailers expecting a modest year-on-year rise in sales volumes this month after selling slightly less in February than in the same month last year.

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## AMERICAN AIRLINES

**US carriers to intensify transatlantic competition**

By Paul Betts, Aerospace Correspondent

COMPETITION will intensify on transatlantic air routes with the arrival at London's Heathrow airport this summer of American Airlines and United Airlines, the two largest US carriers, Mr Robert Crandall, American's chairman said yesterday.

American is still waiting for the US government to approve formally its \$445m (£223m) acquisition of Trans World Airways London routes.

But the revision of the US-UK bilateral air service agreement this week is expected to clear the way for US government approval of the American-TWA transaction.

Mr Crandall said American wanted to serve several airports in the London area and not just Heathrow. He confirmed plans to start a Miami non-stop service to Stansted, north east of London, next spring and expand American's presence at Gatwick, the city's second airport.

The presence of American at Stansted will represent a significant boost for the new airport complex which will be formally opened today. Its arrival is expected to encourage other big international carriers to consider operating out of London's third airport.

"Our strategy is to serve multiple airports in the London area," Mr Crandall said, adding that there would now be more effective transatlantic competition.

"Both American and United will be able to provide more competition for British Airways. The UK will also benefit by virtue of the higher level of flight frequencies than in the past," he said.

But American does not intend to expand in the inter-



Crandall: plans to serve multiple airports in London area

Glyn Glyn

© Glyn Glyn

Crandall said.

The airline plans to concentrate on intercontinental operations relying on smaller carriers to provide connections from main capital centres to other European destinations.

"We will depend on airlines like British Midland and Dan-Air to provide these intra-European services. We will have marketing agreements with such carriers," he explained.

Mr Crandall attacked the European Commission's recent decision to support temporarily EC carriers because of the slump in the business caused by the economic recession and the Gulf war.

"I am very disappointed to see the EC and individual EC governments moving back towards protectionism," he said.

American, like all other airlines, had been badly hit by the slump. "Our financial results for the first quarter of this year will be perfectly awful," Mr

Crandall said.

Stansted, Page 18; Swissair results, Page 19

Trade Services".

The 1991-2 budget for promoting exports directly, which involves 2,000 people worldwide, is £158m, rising to £164m in the following year.

The decision is a recognition of the confusion among companies caused by the multiplicity of export support services, and is aimed at ensuring more effective deployment of UK and overseas staff to assist the business community.

Both departments will, from next month, combine resources

has cost the government billions of pounds and millions of votes.

Mr Neil Kinnock, leader of the opposition Labour party, claimed that the bill for taxpayers had already reached £100m and demanded an immediate statement from Mr Major on his intentions.

Ministers acknowledged that the introduction of a new scheme could defer for several years significant cuts in income tax and could force a rise in indirect taxes.

In a brief statement after the ministerial meeting, Mr Major said: "We are close to settling proposals that are fair, that will not impose undue burdens on the local taxpayer, that will unite opinion and will provide a practical and lasting basis for the relationship between central and local government."

Senior ministers said Mr Major's blueprint for abolition of the poll tax involved a substantial shift in the burden of local authority financing to



Cabinet meeting: Ian Lang (left), Kenneth Baker, Michael Heseltine, and David Hunt

smaller households.

Ministers conceded, however, that the transition to the new system would cost the Treasury several billion pounds in each of the next three years. They said that it would be impossible to put the new scheme in place for at least two years but in the meantime the Government would be forced to greatly increase the level of rebates.

through a banding system to

the capital values of houses

and flats.

Mr Major wants it to include also an element to take into account the number of adults living in each dwelling. Whitehall officials are seeking to refine a system under which

each property will be charged initially on the basis of perhaps three adults with discounts then available for

## Export promotion departments integrated

**Government hopes to improve trade performance**

By Michael Cassell, Business Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT is to integrate the export support resources of the Department of Trade and Industry and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Mr Tristan Garel-Jones, the foreign office minister, said the move was aimed at boosting Britain's overseas sales performance and at ensuring more effective deployment of UK and overseas staff to assist the business community.

Both departments will, from

next month, combine resources

in a joint directorate to spearhead export promotion.

The 1991-2 budget for promoting exports directly, which involves 2,000 people worldwide, is £158m, rising to £164m in the following year.

The decision is a recognition of the confusion among companies caused by the multiplicity of export support services, and is aimed at ensuring more effective deployment of UK and overseas staff to assist the business community.

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goods were running at £230m.

Mr Derek Horrocks, chairman of the BOTB, which guides the government's export promotion programme, yesterday set out target markets and sectors at which sales efforts should be directed.

The Board has concluded that overall priorities for export promotion should remain Western Europe, Japan

— where British exports last year rose to £2.85bn — the Pacific Rim nations and North America.

**Acquisitive companies attacked**

By David Waller

MR JOHN Redwood, minister for corporate affairs, yesterday attacked acquisitive companies which unsuccessfully model themselves on Hanson and BTR, two stock-market giants which specialise in takeovers.

The aggressive pursuit of takeovers by companies in less skillful hands could easily lead to corporate collapse, the minister warned in a speech which dwelt on the government's response to the recent spate of corporate failures.

"Fewer have tried to emulate Glaxo or Pilkington building businesses on in-house ideas and technology."

Speaking at the RSA/Norman bank seminar on corporate governance, Mr Redwood said the government had taken a number of steps in response to recent corporate failures, which include the demise of British & Commonwealth, Polly Peck, Parkfield and other large quoted companies.

He said he had drawn the attention of the Accounting Standards Board (ASB) to accounting weaknesses revealed by these failures, particularly as regards foreign currencies, leased assets, other

of-balance sheet liabilities and extraordinary items.

He had also emphasised the importance of the audit profession ensuring that it disciplined any member who fails to spot the behaviour expected and urged shareholders and management to appoint independent non-executive directors, who should be in the majority on the audit and remuneration committees.

The idea that institutional shareholders should play a more active role in the companies in which they invest, is given biling in a new document, published today by the Association of British Insurers.

*The Responsibilities of Institutional Shareholders*. A discussion paper is intended to stimulate both better communication between investors and senior management and the more responsible exercise of voting rights by institutional shareholders.

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The same change will apply to Deposit Bonds (no longer on sale).

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## MANAGEMENT

**B**usiness schools and their staff are usually criticised for being too divorced from the real world, too remote from companies and the practical needs of managers, and too preoccupied with research and the "ivory-tower" concerns of academic disciplines.

In contrast, Simon Holberton in *Unanswered Ethical Questions* (Financial Times, February 28) argues that many business-school academics are too close to companies and, by engaging in both consultancy and research, run the risk of compromising their independence, diminishing their capacity for disinterested analysis, and tarnishing their reputation.

"Damned if you do and damned if you don't" is likely to be one reaction of much-criticised business-school academics. "Why pick on us?" is likely to be another. The pursuit of knowledge is virtually any subject area runs the risk of being biased by personal interest, whether this interest is financial, ideological or concerns one's reputation.

Even the more specific risk of academics compromising their independence and analysis by engaging in both consultancy and research is not unique to those in business schools. It exists for many, if not most, academics - not only those in professional schools and in the applied areas of engineering, science, and social science but also, as press reports and legal proceedings periodically remind us, in history, art, and philosophy. Indeed, even journalists - who are often hired by companies to produce promotional copy and to act as consultants and public-relations advisers - are not immune to the risk to which Holberton refers.

While such reactions by business-school academics may be understandable, they do not constitute an answer to Holberton's argument. The risk to which he refers does exist and, unfortunately, in some cases is a reality. Hence he has done us a service in raising the matter, although it is more complex, perhaps, than his argument implies.

He suggests that "academics should be asked to decide if they want to be a teacher/researcher or a consultant. Otherwise, the two roles risk increasing conflict." Assuming business-school academics were asked to make such a choice and did so, the risk of conflicting interests would not vanish: it would merely be transferred from the individual to the institutional level. Business schools, like accountancy firms with both auditing and consultancy practices, would still need to devise procedures to ensure that the risk did not become a reality.

In any case, to separate business-school academics into consultants and teacher-researchers would make them less effective. The main argument for consultancy in a business school is that, like research, it takes academics into firms and into contact with managers, and is thus potentially an excellent route to the skills and information stored in the business system.

**G**eorge Bain, principal of the London Business School, offers some answers to questions of ethics

## Damned if they do and damned if they don't

It keeps academics abreast of managerial problems and practices and enables them, particularly if they have not pursued a business career, to acquire relevant knowledge and experience. Moreover, if the work is done well, it enhances the reputation and that of the school to which they belong. It can also generate teaching materials as well as research opportunities and access to them.

Consultancy work will be of value to a business school, however, only if it is of the right quantity and quality.

If academics spend excessive time on consultancy, then their work for the business school - their teaching, research and administration - tends to become their secondary activity.

Indeed, they may even become

addicted to consultancy, rushing from one assignment to another with little

capacity to reflect, let alone research

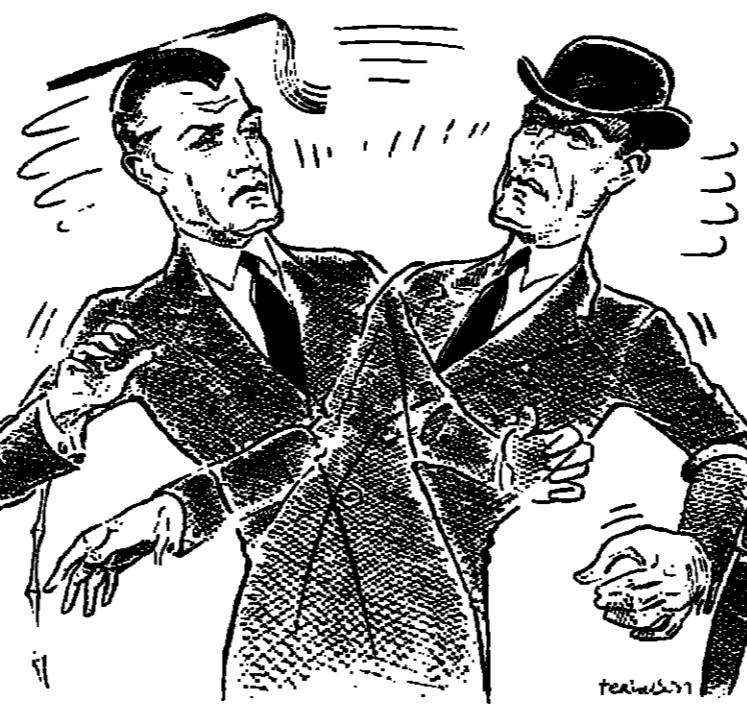
- a parody of Mintzberg's "fragile manager".

London Business School, therefore,

like most international business schools, restricts the consultancy work of its faculty to a maximum of one day a week.

Consultancy should enhance academics' personal and professional development, regardless of how much time they spend on it. Consultancy that is low level and repetitive (eg frequently repeated, routine teaching of junior executives) does not do so; rather, it causes intellectual stagnation and a decline in professional productivity. Hence at London Business School we encourage faculty members to avoid such consultancy assignments and to concentrate on those which, among other things, foster their professional development and learning, add to their reputation and involve teaching of an innovative, developmental or influential kind.

A business school will find a policy of this kind easier to operate if it pays reasonable salaries. London Business School is in the midst of a four-to-five year process of raising faculty salaries by 50 per cent in real terms on a merit-related basis. The main reason for doing so is to enhance our ability to obtain the best faculty by being competitive with other international business schools. Another reason is to ensure that faculty members are not forced to undertake consultancy simply to exist. They require a salary that enables them to spend most of their time on teaching and research.



We further encourage them in this respect by offering a materials or research supplement: it is payable to those who are prepared to restrict their consultancy to 25 days a year and take on additional research and/or materials development activity, and represents about a 20 per cent salary increase for a junior member.

Regardless of what salaries business schools pay, Holberton is right to suggest that they should "cast a critical eye over the extramural activities of their staff". Business schools need to ensure that such activities are not only of the right quantity and quality but also that they do not compete with the school's own programmes.

At London Business School we require faculty members to report on their outside work every six months.

They are required to specify the client, the nature of the work, the amount of time involved, its implications for personal and professional development and any benefits from it that may accrue to the school.

Such a report has the added advantage of enabling consultancy and other outside activities to be more effectively taken into account in

undertaken.

■ The business school should be free to decide how the research is to be carried out and to control the day-to-day management of the project.

■ Data gathered under guarantees of anonymity should be made available to sponsors in such a way that these guarantees are respected.

■ So long as all guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity are respected, the business school should be free to publish any work, other than specific reports to sponsors, which derives directly or indirectly from the basic data.

No doubt these rules can be elaborated on and refined in various ways, and perhaps added to, but I believe they provide the basis for ensuring that research, whether sponsored or unsponsored, is both objective to the extent that any analysis can be and useful. The basic point is that business schools and their students need to formulate explicit rules and negotiate clear contracts so that companies know whether they are consulting clients or research-sponsors.

"British business" as Holberton points out, "needs research it can rely on." Good companies are aware of this need. They usually do not fund research in order to be told how good they are. Rather, they do so to obtain a better understanding of the forces bringing about change so that they can develop better approaches and techniques for managing it.

They are unlikely to be receptive to Holberton's suggestion that they channel the bulk of their research funding through a new foundation similar to the Economic and Social Research Council, however, because the need for such bodies to develop long-term research programmes tends to make them increasingly responsive to company priorities.

If the amount of funding for management research is to be maintained, let alone increased, business schools will have to continue to look to companies for help in funding research. And if their faculties are not to become purveyors of out-of-date business practice, they will have to continue to act as consultants. If business schools and their faculties do neither, they might be purer (and certainly poorer), but they would also be much less effective for excellence.

In this field inevitably requires a mixture of the theoretical and the practical, the basic and the applied, the academic and the vocational.

The way forward for business schools and their faculties is not to retreat into the cloister but, like the best companies and managers they study, to develop policies and procedures for successfully managing conflicts of interest and the ambiguities they produce. If they do, they will not become passive and uncritical "servants of power", but will use their teaching, research and consultancy to question, to discover and to innovate.

■ Regardless of who is paying for the research, all parties with a vested interest in it should agree that it be annual reviews, contract reviews and promotions.

Holberton also suggests that business schools should "take a critical look at the sort of research their staff are doing and who is funding it. If the purpose of research is to increase our knowledge and understanding of the world then they should be alert to actual and potential conflicts of interest". Again he is right. But I do not believe he is right to imply that research cannot be objective or useful if it is funded by companies (and presumably also by such bodies as trade unions and government agencies).

A risk clearly exists "that he who pays the piper also calls the tune", but this risk is unlikely to become a reality if business schools and their faculty adopt an appropriate regulatory code of conduct.

In my view, such a code should contain the following rules:

■ The work should possess academic interest. Ideally, it should be related to other work which is being done in the business school.

■ Regardless of who is paying for the

research, all parties with a vested

interest in it should agree that it be

annual reviews, contract reviews and promotions.

Holberton also suggests that business schools should "take a critical look at the sort of research their staff are doing and who is funding it. If the purpose of research is to increase our knowledge and understanding of the world then they should be alert to actual and potential conflicts of interest". Again he is right. But I do not believe he is right to imply that research cannot be objective or useful if it is funded by companies (and presumably also by such bodies as trade unions and government agencies).

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■ Regardless of who is paying for the

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## THE PROPERTY MARKET

## Son of Tunnel

AWAY from the sound and fury of the Eurotunnel project, a new property company has quietly emerged. As yet, Eurotunnel Developments is virtually a shell company with no gearing and one project under way. But it will soon embark on a clutch of projects, which together are worth over £500m. Eurotunnel has spawned a property company almost by accident. Much of the land in Eurotunnel Development's portfolio, mainly in Folkestone and Ashford, was originally involved in some way with the tunnel's construction, or has proved surplus to the tunnel's requirements. By chance, Eurotunnel also had property management expertise. Mr David Wilson, the administrative director of Eurotunnel, had worked for Trafalgar House, Boris and British Land.

There are not many companies embarking on ambitious development projects in the teeth of the recession. However, Eurotunnel Developments is confident that Robert Fleming will be able to arrange a syndicated loan in the early summer. This will allow it to get going, although it is seeking joint venture partners for the larger projects.



David Wilson, administrative director of Eurotunnel: property expertise

Eurotunnel Developments' confidence depends largely on its land bank. Eurotunnel has agreed to sell spare land to Eurotunnel Developments at the relatively low agricultural values it paid in the mid-1980s, plus interest costs. The rise in values as a result of the infrastructure improvements provides the basis for Eurotunnel to raise money.

This debt will have no recourse to Eurotunnel. "We are not supported by Eurotunnel. We are running the company as a fully fledged property development company," says Mr Wilson.

Eurotunnel Developments' largest scheme, known as Waterbrook, is a 190-acre site

at junction 10 of the M20 just outside Ashford. The core of the site was originally bought to be the inland clearance depot for goods crossing the channel. However, once it became clear that traffic barriers would be lowered in 1992, Eurotunnel was free to use the site for other purposes. These will include a large hypermarket, warehouses, distribution depots, a truck stop and a car park.

In Folkestone, it is planning a 240m scheme called Cheriton Park, on a site now used by the exhibition centre. The company also owns 440 acres near Dover, where the tunnel workers are now accommodated,

which will be redeveloped into a hotel, golf course and homes when the tunnel is finished.

Eurotunnel is handicapped in developing on the French side of the Channel because its lease on the land lasts only until 2012. However, in general, developments in France may have an advantage over their UK counterparts because of falling property values.

Nonetheless, Mr Wilson exudes confidence about the UK schemes, believing that their completion will coincide with the upturn of the property cycle and the completion of the Channel Tunnel. "We aim to capitalise on that," he says.

Vanessa Houlder

## Swedes search for more 'pearls'

By Vanessa Houlder

Fastighetsaktiebolaget Hufvudstaden is a smaller, Swedish version of Land Securities. After 75 years, Hufvudstaden is Sweden's most established property company with a market capitalisation of about £1bn.

That means it can afford to take a measured view of the storms lashing the world's property markets, in contrast to some Swedish investors who have been beaten into a retreat by a fragile banking system and falling property values.

Hufvudstaden is in the throes of increasing its international portfolio over the next five years until it accounts for 30-40 per cent of its total property assets. It wants to diversify its risk and reduce its exposure to the Swedish market, after years of being largely confined within it by currency restrictions. Until the Swedish government abolished its 50-year old system of exchange controls in 1988, investors were barred from putting money overseas.

"The Swedish market is too

locked," says Mr Curt Olson, chairman of Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, Sweden's largest bank who sits on the board of Hufvudstaden. "There was too heavy investment in a small market."

Hufvudstaden is not starting from scratch in its international expansion. Over the years, it has got round the exchange controls by building Swedish Centres, which were judged to promote trade and by acquiring a property offshoot of Swedish Match, which as an industrial company was subject to less severe exchange restrictions. Accordingly, even before exchange controls were lifted, it had buildings in Tokyo, Paris and London.

The removal of the regulations will allow it to speed up the internationalisation of its portfolio, although it will still continue to look for "pearls" in the West End of London.

"It is a civilised part of London," says Mr Dan Brostrom, managing director of Hufvudstaden in the UK. "It has the type of buildings we go for and the imbalance between demand and supply is not as great as in the City." The City will be considered, but not yet.

Hufvudstaden has made a tentative move into Germany, with an acquisition of a 25m office site in west Berlin. "We will see what happens. It is a very turbulent market," says Mr Lars Oberg, chairman.

diversifying its risk.

"Our strategy is to be in big cities because the risk is less," says Mr Lars Oberg, chairman.

"As a banker, I see that property companies are most likely to lose more if they invest in suburbs and low quality buildings," adds Mr Olson.

Will Sweden's application to join the EC make much difference? Overall it could, says Mr Olson. That is because it might exacerbate the pressure on Swedish industry to invest inside the EC in case external trade becomes more difficult.

Furthermore, it seems likely that the Swedish government will have to remove the barriers against foreign investment, which could stimulate the property market. "It could encourage investment in Sweden in the long run," argues Mr Oberg. But he warns against euphoria. "We are going into a recession. We have a finance and property crisis. If the change comes now it will have no impact."

For Hufvudstaden, the gloom about the state of the Swedish economy is mitigated to some extent by the government's embrace of the EC and apparent move towards a market economy. Nonetheless, uncertainty about Sweden's future appears to run deep.

The difficulties at home and the opportunities of faster investment abroad mean that the next few years for Hufvudstaden should be challenging.

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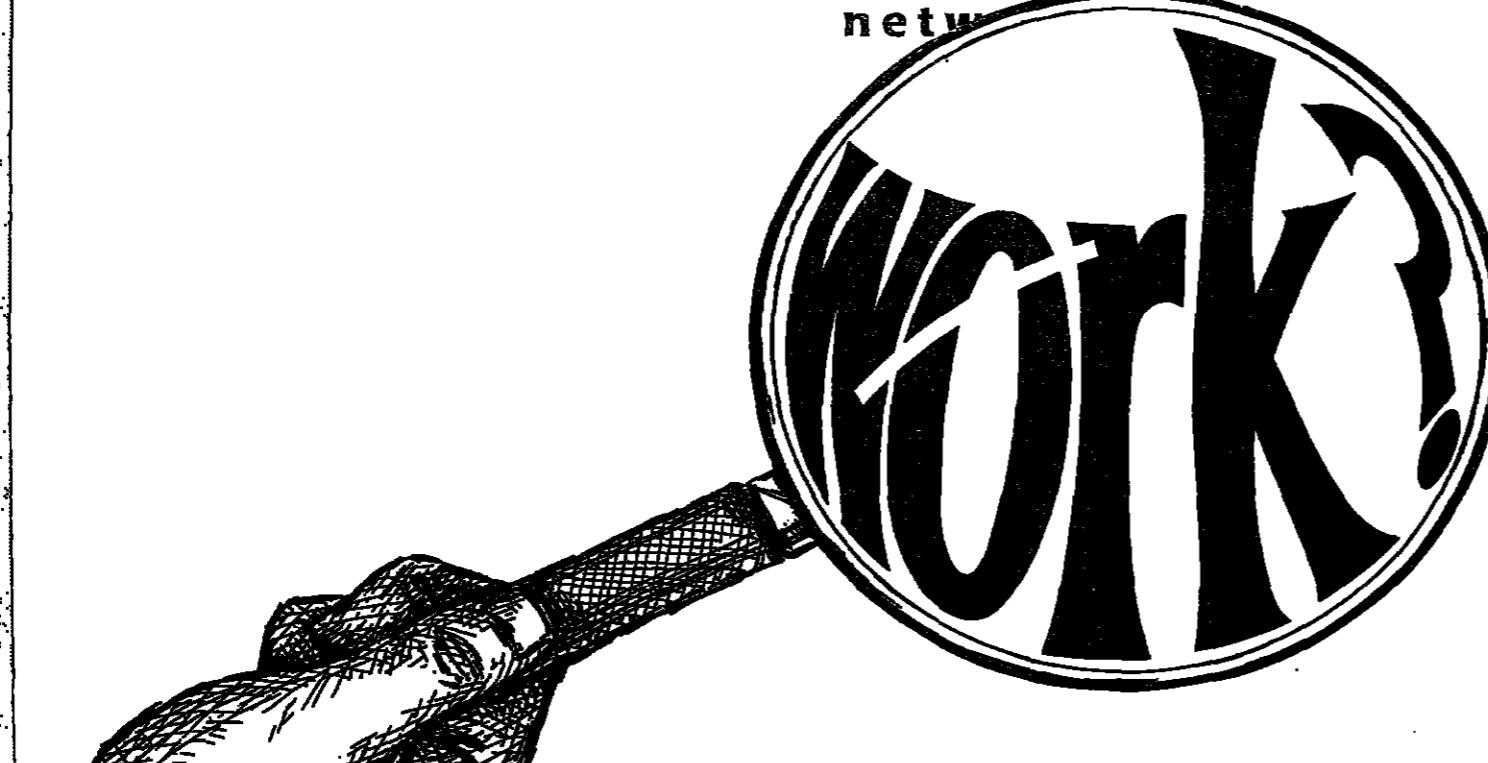
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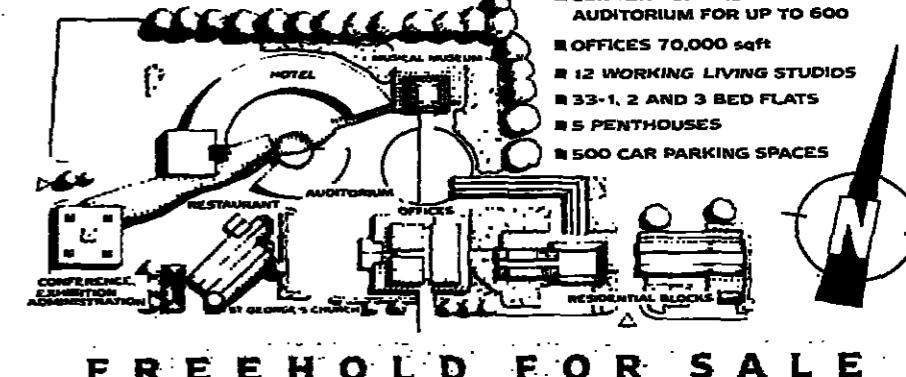
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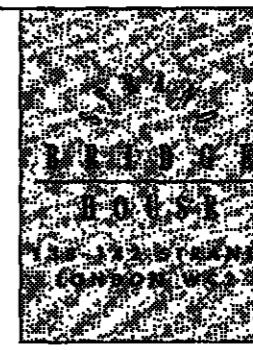
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Less than a mile from where he was standing is the edge of the great Burgan oil field, the biggest in the world after Al-Ghawar in Saudi Arabia, with at least 45bn barrels of proven reserves. Here every well is burning with a roar that makes the ground vibrate. Jets of exploding oil and gas squirt into the air, surging every few minutes to produce even bigger pillars of flame which spread out into huge smoky orange fireballs.

Above the fire, columns of black smoke are pushed up into the sky to join the famous grey "oil cloud" that hangs permanently above Burgan and is blown sometimes north to Kuwait City and Iraq, sometimes east to Iran and sometimes south-east to the Saudi coast, the Gulf and eventually the Indian sub-continent.

The exploding wells represent the biggest oil field disaster, industrial disaster and possibly ecological disaster there has ever been. It is thought that about 5m barrels a day is being burnt at present, equivalent to nearly three times Britain's oil consumption. Kuwait is losing a day's worth of oil assets.

Some 500 wells are burning. The previous record for simultaneous blow-outs was only three wells. A further 300 are mined with explosives that did not go off, or were blown up but had their fires go out for natural reasons. In some cases this was because pressures dropped when the wellheads and choke systems were blown away; in others it was because the lack of a choke

caused a rise in the water content of the oil flow, which made the combination non-inflammable. It is thought unlikely that many more wells will extinguish themselves in this way.

In most cases the Iraqis did a much more professional job on demolishing the oil wells than they did on the rest of Kuwait's infrastructure. Explosives were packed round the foot of each well and covered with sandbags so that the force of the explosions went inwards and downwards.

Managers of the Kuwait Oil Corporation (KOC), many of whom were forced to co-operate with the Iraqis, say that advisers from the Iraqi state oil company were flown in to help set the charges. They claim that some of the Iraqis involved have been at the Opec talks in Geneva this week.

The work of putting out the fires is not going to start for about a fortnight. So far, the fire-fighters have made their assessment of the job and are now awaiting the arrival of their equipment. They are being co-ordinated by OGE Drilling of Houston and backed by the US construction giant Bechtel, which is

organising the purchase and movement of materials.

The schedule for mobilisation is being stretched by the total lack of any sort of support in Kuwait. Bulldozers, trucks, drilling rigs, well heads, all the specialist fire-fighting equipment, even food is having to be flown in. The enormous quantities of water that will be needed to protect the fire-fighters as they work on the wells will have to be pumped from the Gulf through the pipes which used to carry oil to the loading terminals.

A temporary problem is that the central Kuwaiti oil fields are dotted with abandoned Iraqi munitions and unexploded bits of allied cluster bombs. The fields near Kuwait's borders are covered with mines, though the Iraqi army has now provided the American forces with maps of these, which are being passed to KOC.

At the beginning it is hoped to deploy eight teams of fire-fighters, and then, once these have proper support, the number may be expanded to 12 or 14 teams. According to Larry Flak, the OGE Drilling manager co-ordinating the teams, the operation will run more like an

assembly line than the usual one team per well approach. "We'll have one set of guys preparing the well areas, another putting out the fires and another capping the wells, and so forth," he said.

A limit to the number of teams that can be used is imposed by there being only a handful of oil well fire-fighting companies in the world. Kel Almar, Smit and Coats, Willi Wink Control, Bell, Houston, and Safety Boats of Calgary, have been deployed so far. The cost of the fire-fighters' contracts has not yet been calculated.

The teams will begin work on the relatively small wells at the airport, so that aircraft can fly in more easily, and then move to the Burgan, Magwa and Ahmadi complex of fields. They will extinguish the fires either by explosions or by spraying them with liquid nitrogen.

Where enough of the well assembly is left above ground they will then lower a new well head on to the oil jet. If this is not possible they will seal off the protruding pipe by fitting and activating a blow-out preventer, which will cut off the flow of oil by causing an enormous, heavy ram to slice



Some 5m barrels of oil a day go up in smoke

piece of pipe (well casing), using a flexible braided steel line, drawn to and fro between two winches. All this will be done while the fire is still burning. The fire-fighters will be working under galvanised, reflective, mobile sheds being sprayed with water. Once they have made a

clean cut they will put out the fire and fit a blowout preventer.

In the most extreme cases directional relief walls can be drilled so that concrete can be injected to block the exploding well below the ground.

Officials of the companies involved say that they reckon all the burning wells will be extinguished in one to two years, though some 50,000 b/d of oil from intact wells will be brought on stream to feed Kuwait's power stations in a matter of weeks.

Later, production may be raised to 150,000 b/d to feed other domestic consumption and in about a year a small amount of exports might begin. In six or seven years Kuwait's oil fields should be back to their pre-war state - as far as it is possible to achieve this.

Kuwait's oil fields will be permanently damaged by the disaster that has befallen them. Some 5m barrels of their reserves will actually go up in smoke. This will be about 5m barrels, equivalent to the biggest North Sea oil field when it was first discovered.

Another huge quantity of oil - the exact amount cannot yet even be guessed at - will be lost through the permanent reduction of oilfield pressure that results from 500 simultaneous blowouts.

Kuwait's oil wells were once the most productive in the world and its oil the cheapest to produce. In the future the cost of running Kuwait's oil operations will remain quite low, once the cost of fire-fighting has been written off. But the country will never achieve its pre-war rates of production per well.

At present oil prices, Kuwait's and the world's capital loss in burnt and unrecoverable oil might run to \$100m.

## Bull charges in with a new set of rules

By Alan Cane

**G**roupe Bull, the French state-owned computer manufacturer, yesterday published the road map and compass for its computer product strategy for the 1990s.

It took advantage of the CeBit computer trade fair in Hanover, Germany, to demonstrate the "Bull Distributed Computing Model".

It is largely a set of specifications for services, application interfaces and exchange protocols that define how Bull and other manufacturers' products will communicate with each other - in other words, a set of rules which Bull will follow and to which other companies can build bridges. It is similar in concept to International Business Machine's Systems Applications Architecture.

Francis Lorentz, Bull chief executive, said the Bull model would help customers solve business problems and help management information systems departments make use of distributed systems - systems which parcel out computing power around an organisation rather than centralising

it in a data centre.

The model, for example, makes a company's entire information system accessible to a user simply through his or her workstation. There will be no need to know where programs or data are located in the system.

The Bull Model is expected to prove critical to the company's commercial performance. It has lost money heavily over the past two years as a result of moving too slowly from systems based on proprietary designs to systems based on "open" designs which use industry standard components and operating software.

The French government has already agreed to fund an FFr1bn (\$1.1bn) project to unify the company's range of operating systems.

Among products already released for the model are the DPX Unix-based workstation line; yesterday Bull announced OpenTeam, a software system that allows customers to organise work groups using microcomputers around Unix-based network servers.

### Smart cards send phone bills home

**MOTOROLA**, the US electronics and communications company, has come up with the solution for business travellers who want to use their mobile phones overseas.

The company's latest range of phones, which will work on the pan-European cellular radio network when it is introduced from July, uses smart card technology to overcome billing problems.

The smart cards, slivers of plastic with microchips embedded in them, can be removed so that each phone can be used with several cards - each card containing details of the user, including billing address. Eventually business travellers could take the card out of their car or hand-held phone and slot it into the phone which they hire at their destination airport.

### Rubbish goes to the sand pits

**HOUSEHOLD** rubbish can now be transformed into sand, through a process developed in Switzerland.

The Gomeric process, devised by the Martigny-based company of the same name, involves turning all types of household waste into mineral granules. These can be used in construction sand, fertilisers or even cat litter.

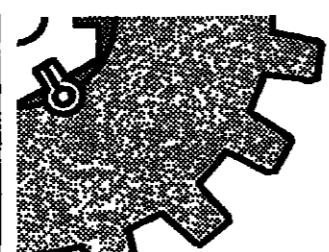
The process involves shredding the waste and turning it into small granules. Quicklime and calcium are added and the mixture passes through two large ovens heated to 280 deg C. The waste is also put under pressure and bombarded with very intense light.

This combination produces the same results as if the waste were heated to 12,000 deg C, say the inventors.

### Financial data never get stale

A POCKET-SIZED gadget which displays up-to-the-minute financial information on a range of shares, foreign exchange rates and commodity rates is now available in the greater London area.

The service, from Sprintel, of High Wycombe, enables



### WORTH WATCHING

by Della Bradshaw

customers to keep track of a personalised list from different markets such as Liffe, metals, equities and foreign exchange. The monitor warns when the price moves outside a pre-set high or low figure by beeping and displaying the figures on the screen.

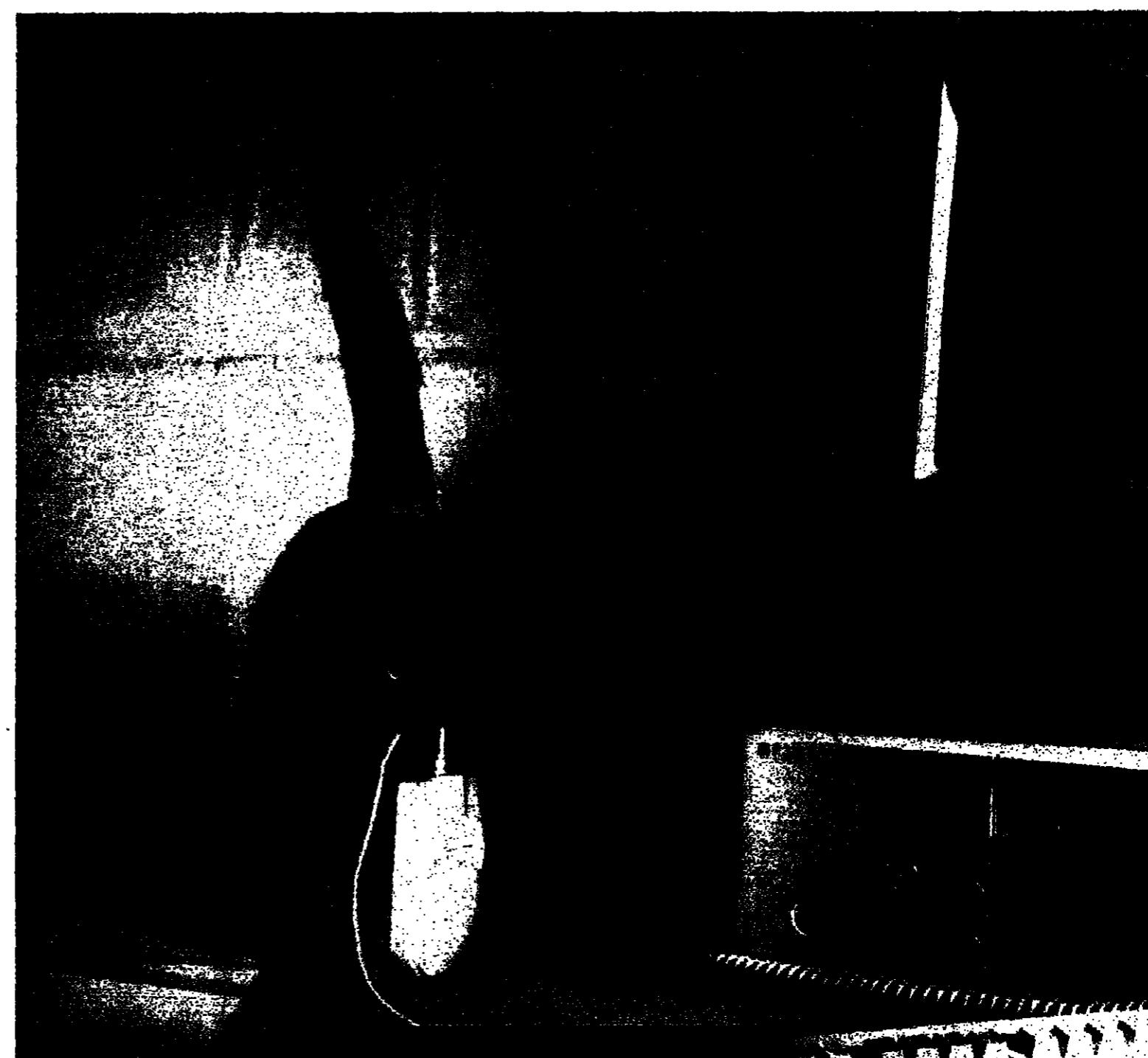
The information from the exchanges is fed into the Sprintel computer and processed. Information is then selected for each customer and sent over a dedicated radio channel to the monitor.

### Fax and voice join timeshare

CUTTING the company's phone and facsimile bills is something near to every finance director's heart. To help achieve this Pacific Communications Sciences has developed a compression system which enables companies to squeeze eight voice, fax or data signals down a single 64 kilobit leased line.

The compression technique used in the Clarity Series CS8000 multiplexer, sold in the UK by Certacom, of High Wycombe, gives acceptable voice quality at low bandwidths says PCSL. It also detects the difference between voice, data and fax signals - so the equipment can be used for all three kinds of traffic without the need to dedicate a proportion of the eight lines to each.

Contact: Motorola: UK, 0256 817474. Gomeric: Switzerland, 021 420 00 00. Sprintel: UK, 0494 440 000. PCSL: US, 619 555 9500. Certacom: UK, 02895 27972.



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TOP SECRET

## ARTS

## Siddal the Pre-Raphaelite Pygmalion

Patricia Morison enjoys Rossetti's vision of Lizzie Siddal, but decides she had no talent of her own



Detail from a Rossetti watercolour of Elizabeth Siddal

**I**LIZZIE SIDDAL were to rise from her tomb in Highgate Cemetery, coil up her famous mass of red hair and glide in to the newsgagents for a copy of today's *FT*, I wonder which would give her the greater frisson of pleasure: to discover that there is an exhibition of Rossetti's *Drawings of Elizabeth Siddal* at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, or, by a weird coincidence, that the Ruskin Art Gallery in Shetfield is showing *Elizabeth Siddal: Pre-Raphaelite Artist*?

Should Lizzie the revenger be thinking along orthodox feminist lines, it will be the idea of a first solo exhibition which will bring the roses to her admirers — although unfashionably freckled — complexion. The moving spirit behind the Shetfield exhibition (which runs until April 13) is Dr Jan Marsh, author of a fine recent study, *The Legend of Elizabeth Siddal* (Quartet Books 1989, £15.00, pp.244). Legend would have it that she was a 17-year-old "stunner" discovered masking hats by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and swept off to model for spiritual-looking ladies in difficult poses (I am happy to report that Dr Marsh accepts as true the much-loved story of the patient beauty who for hours insisted in a tin bath posing for Millais's "Ophelia").

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## BBC Symphony Orchestra

BARBICAN HALL

The second, on Tuesday night, of young conductor Mark Wigglesworth's two concerts with the BBC Symphony at Barbican Hall presented both less and more of a challenge than the first given a week before. The symphony, Mahler's unfinished tenth, in Deryck Cooke's performing edition, was harder to bring off than that of the previous week, Shostakovich's tenth.

But the specially commissioned new work, Howard Skempton's *Lento* was a great deal easier to conduct, and to play, than had been Dominic Muldowney's complexly layered *Three Pieces for Orchestra* included in the earlier programme. Whereas that work called for click tracks to help with the co-ordination of its different temporal levels (Wigglesworth didn't avail himself of one, however), Skempton's work is the simplest of steady

unfoldings, a quiet pulsing monolithic structure (13 minutes) built out of elementary chords mainly heard on strings, and taking on a radiant, reverent Vaughan Williams-like quality; the piece was like the *Talis Fantasia* rewritten by Satie, though the real influence was probably that of the Polish composer Henryk Mikolaj Gorecki.

Skempton is one of the more interesting of those English eccentric-experimental composers who originally came to prominence in connection with the Scratch Orchestra (founded by him and Cornelius Cardew in 1969). Most of his music so far has been minimalist miniatures for piano or accordion; this is his third orchestral piece, though his first for professionals. Its scoring follows that of Wagner's *Parsifal* prelude, a lustrous account of which preceded it on the programme, but it

makes extremely restrained use of the available woodwind and brass. This very reticence gives the trombones and bassoons of the central episode a special savour, and the oboe later on a particularly poignant air.

The orchestra happily brought out the good-naturedness and simple beauty of the piece. They were far more taxed by the Mahler work, and showed it in roughness of ensemble, erratic intonation and general unloveliness of sound. Wigglesworth valiantly held on, but the orchestra and big five-movement structure got the better of him. Glimmerings of Mahlerian greatness there were, but on the whole this performance made Cooke's realisation of Mahler's sketches sound hopelessly tentative.

The good news is rather that the Royal Opera has used the

Paul Driver

## Rolland &amp; Hamelin

WIGMORE HALL

The Canadian cellist Sophie Rolland and her compatriot Marc-André Hamelin are performing all Beethoven's cello-and-piano music at the Wigmore. They delivered half of it on Wednesday, with the rest (the op. 102 sonatas and the variation-sets) to come next Thursday — for which there are still tickets. A word to the wise is very much in order here: their playing offers, first and foremost, unadulterated musical pleasure.

Admittedly there were moments on Wednesday when Hamelin's forceful attack shaded his partner's gentler voice. They have toured their Beethoven concertos around North America, to much larger halls, and hadn't quite adjusted their balance for this one. But in none of the Wednesday sonatas — the two early ones of op. 5, and op. 69 in A — is the piano anything less than an equal, forthright

partner; and where we usually hear a cello with a politely reticent accompanist, Hamelin was properly forward, characterful and brilliant (with his pianolid fully open; extra marks to Rolland for unselfish courage).

Not since Sviatoslav Richter "accompanied" Rostropovich have I heard this music expounded with such even-handed creativity. The special appeal of this partnership lies in their musical reconciliation between distinct temperaments. Hamelin is not only a master of early-Beethoven style but a virtuoso of parts, whereas Miss Rolland's address, despite her rich, penetrating tone (on a lovely three-centuries-old instrument from Brescia), is lyrical and "inward". They answered to each other superbly, but there was any doubt about their individual differences. In each sonata, that was pure gain;

Beethoven left space for piquant friction of just this kind.

Both of the op. 5 sonatas prefix a thoughtful Adagio to a robust Allegro, and follow it with a springy finale. To each of them Miss Rolland brought luminous candour, and Hamelin incisive point and energy. For the more expansive op. 69 they found a relaxed, sweetly communicative manner, and a contagious lift in both the scherzo and the bustling Allegro vivace (which they repeated, even better, as an encore). A wealth of expressive detail sprang to the ear as if new, with no hint of anything but selflessly committed interpretation. We should welcome Miss Rolland back as often as possible — and the prospect of a solo recital from Hamelin would be seriously exciting, too.

David Murray

## Il barbiere di Siviglia

COVENT GARDEN

Any lovers of Gluck need to have a sense of humor. After years of waiting to see *Phaéton en Tauride* at Covent Garden they find this season's projected new production can be marred and replaced by yet another revival of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, that most calculated of comedies from which Gluck's noble visions could not be further removed.

In fact, a sense of humor is

useful in dealing with this revival as a whole. It is said that the extra rehearsal time has been used to devise a re-staging, but what Stephen Unwin has produced could hardly look more like every other *Barbiere di Siviglia* if it tried, even down to the gratuitous choreography. As soon as an ensemble is ticking away, the singers start bobbing up and down like cog-wheels in a novelty clock.

The good news is rather that the Royal Opera has used the

Roux, plying all the tricks of his trade in an exhausting display of winks and smiles, chuckles and grins. It was good, though, to hear again his grainy French baritone and keen words. Bruce Ford sang a sensitive *Almaviva*, even if his conscientious way of delivering the runs without aspiration lost something in clarity. And somewhere in a world of his own there was Barone Tumanyan as Basilio, the black bass voice and sunken eyes looming from beyond the grave.

The problem was that promising vocal talents, such as hers, had not been moulded into a single comic style. The most satisfying all-round performance came from the Bartolo of Gregory Ursich, as he alone gave us a real character rather than a rag-bag of reactions set on the spur of the moment. A guardian so big and burly, a real bully bursting with all-Australian vocal muscle, could well have swept the floor with a lesser Rosina.

The Figaro was François Le

Richard Fairman



American newcomer Jennifer Larmore as Rosina

## Invisible Friends

COTTESLOE THEATRE

This is Alan Ayckbourn for children, with a touch of Roald Dahl thrown in. Dahl wrote his best stuff for the young, but that did not stop older people liking it. And that is what Ayckbourn is after in *Invisible Friends*. In a programme note to the Cottesloe production, he says that theatre "can only be enriched when the audience ages are thoroughly mixed". He has written plays for children before; when he has started doing it again, he explains, "to attract the adults as well".

The formula — and it is a formula — works. Here is an Ayckbourn family, not terribly happy but chugging along together. Father is a van-driver who spends most of his time asleep in front of the television. Mother is a bit of a drudge. Son Gary is at a polytechnic learning to be a bookie; at home he lies on his bed and listens to rock through headphones. The only one with imagination is daughter Lucy who invents a dauber friend called Zara to relieve the

monotony and to have some one to talk to.

The trick is that Zara comes to life. She has magical powers, makes the rest of Lucy's family disappear and brings in her own family in their place. Zara's lot are on a rather higher social level, not wholly at home in 1824 Cottlesloe Street — just past the traffic lights but before you get to the zebra crossing — and unused to eating fish fingers. Lucy is dismissed as "dirty, untidy and smelly". She begins to pine for her own family to return which, as in any good fairy story, eventually they do.

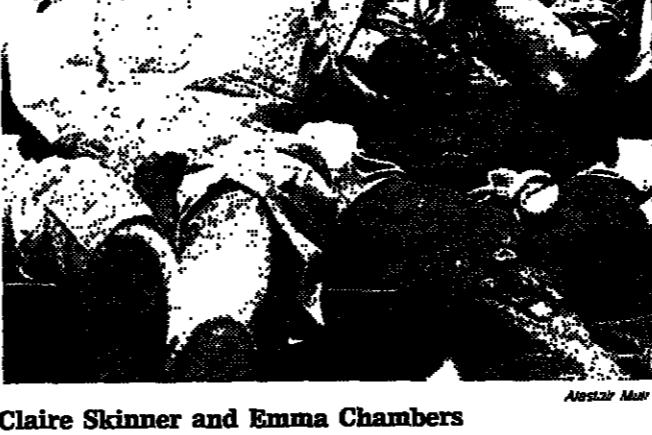
The rest is a mixture of zany Ayckbourn and traditional children's entertainment. Sometimes the two blend perfectly together. There is a splendid scene where Zara's family object to playing *Snakes and Ladders* in the conventional way and insist on playing it with the cards face down. There is an equally good piece of comic business when Zara, still invisible, keeps switching around

the corn flakes and the krispies at the family breakfast. On the more traditional level, familiar to children's shows throughout the ages, there is the attempt to make a cake first basted, then done by magic.

There is not a lot more to be anything more to a show like this. Ayckbourn is right: it works if the age of the audience is mixed. There were quite a lot of children at the Cottesloe. *Invisible Friends* is strictly not for adults only.

Lucy is intelligently played by Emma Chambers; the direction is by Ayckbourn himself.

Malcolm Rutherford



Alystar May

Claire Skinner and Emma Chambers

The Salzburg Easter Festival opens on March 23 with *Le nozze di Figaro* conducted by Bernard Haitink. Those who predicted that the festival would not survive the death of its founder, Herbert von Karajan, have been proved wrong: the festival continues much as before, with the Berlin Philharmonic as resident orchestra and prices as high as ever — Schi,300 (\$305) for the best opera seats and Schi,700 (\$157) for orchestral concerts. The cheapest seat for the opera is also Schi,700. But the festival, which depends on private support for its survival, has a large and loyal body of subscribers.

The *Figaro* production, staged by Michael Hampel with decor by John Gunter and costumes by Carlo Dioppi, is repeated on March 27 and April 1. The cast includes Thomas Allen as the Count, Ferruccio Furlanetto as Figaro, Susanna Menter as Cherubino and John Tomlinson as Bartolo. Haitink also conducts two Karajan memorial concerts on March 25 and 30, with a

programme including Bruckner's Ninth Symphony. Daniel Barenboim conducts the remaining four concerts, including Bruckner's Seventh Symphony on March 24 and Mozart's Requiem on March 29.

The main operatic event of the coming week is the world premiere on Tuesday of the *Death of Klinghoffer* by John Adams. Like Adams' Nixon in China, Klinghoffer has a libretto by Alice Goodman and deals with a recent event of international significance — the killing of an American tourist by Palestinian terrorists on the Achille Lauro cruise liner. The work is staged by Peter Sellars at the Monnaie in Brussels, with choreography by Mark Morris. The production, conducted by Kent Nagano, runs until April 2, and then moves to Lyon, where there will be performances between April 13 and 21.

Other operatic first nights include *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Berlin State Opera (Sun), reuniting the conductor Michael Gielen and the stage director Ruth Berghaus, who produced it with polemics in combination at the Frankfurt Opera in the mid-1980s. From the House of the Dead (Sun) is the latest instalment of Harry Kupfer's *Janacek* cycle at Cologne. Jozefin Herz stages Janacek's *Ondřej* at Dresden (Wed) and Willy Döcker stages Busoni's *Doktor Faust* at Leipzig (Sun). In the new Zurich production of Eugene Onegin (tomorrow), Wolfgang Brendel sings the title role and Francisco Araiza is Lensky.

The *Figaro* production, staged by Michael Hampel with decor by John Gunter and costumes by Carlo Dioppi, is repeated on March 27 and April 1. The cast includes Thomas Allen as the Count, Ferruccio Furlanetto as Figaro, Susanna Menter as Cherubino and John Tomlinson as Bartolo. Haitink also conducts two Karajan memorial concerts on March 25 and 30, with a

Galleries, with 250 works reflecting Berlin's place in the history of 20th century art, from Dada and the Neue Sachlichkeit to east German art of the 1980s. Ends June 15. Closed Mon. GENEVA Galerie Jacques Benoist Kim En Jong: recent paintings, mostly in an abstract oriental style, by the South Korean artist (b1940) who has lived as a member of the Dominican order in Paris since 1975. Ends April 20. Daily. LONDON Barbican Centre Centenary tribute to the English painter Stanley Spencer. Also Man Ray: fashion photography from 1922 to 1942. Ends April 1. Daily. Hayward Gallery The Twilight of the Tarts: Russian Art at the Turn of the Century, with 500 exhibits from Soviet galleries showing art nouveau architectural designs by Shchukin and Fomin, the revival of Slavonic and Russian craft traditions, the obsession with the East and the symbolist style of the era. Ends May 19. Daily. Royal Academy The British Collection: Impressionism and Old Masters, paintings, including works by Constable, Van Gogh, Cezanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin and Degas. Ends April 14. Daily. Tate Gallery Max Ernst: centenary retrospective of the German-born Surrealist, comprising 200 paintings, drawings and sculptures from collections throughout Europe and America. Ends April 21. Daily. Victoria and Albert Museum Fashion Photography: a study of postwar trends, with 200 classic photographs by Norman Parkinson, David Bailey and others. Ends April 28. Daily.

DUBLIN Municipal Gallery of Modern Art The Art Collection of the Berlin Art Institute Modern Art and Popular Culture, a study of the 20th century dialogue between art and commercial culture

# FINANCIAL TIMES

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## Opec after the gulf war

OPEC IS dead; long live Opec. Iraq's criminal misbehaviour may have ensured that Opec will not soon be what it was. Opec is changed, the difference being the self-confidence of its dominant producer. Newly confident in the guarantees given to its security, Saudi Arabia insisted at the two-day meeting in Geneva earlier this week that Opec will have to operate on its terms, rather than the other way round. Provided the Kingdom plays its hand with skill, the result could be globally beneficial. But it need not be. The game of chicken over quotas now in prospect could prove ruinous.

This is not just a concern for Opec. There is a global interest in the price of oil. It is not merely the world's most important commodity, it is one whose production and sale are determined almost entirely by governments. Ideally, they should deliver price stability around a gradually rising trend. Nobody knows what the right price for oil actually is. But present prices are at least in the neighbourhood of those that have ruled, except in the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, since 1986. Decisions have been made on the basis of these prices. It would be most undesirable for those decisions to be invalidated at Opec's whim.

### Saudi behaviour

The question then is whether Saudi behaviour is consistent with the needed price stability. It certainly was following Iraq's invasion. Opec did far better than generally expected in increasing output to compensate for the loss of Iraq and Kuwaiti production.

The daily output of Opec, other than from these two, rose from 18.9m barrels in the first half of 1990 to 22.3m barrels in early 1991. Saudi Arabia alone contributed over two-thirds of this increase, lifting its output from 5.6m barrels to a peak of 8.4m barrels a day.

It was to these increases in production and, subsequently, to the allies' success in the war in the air that the world owes the fall in oil prices from the peak of more than \$40 a barrel last September and October, to about \$20 today. Moreover, with the bulk of Iraqi production and virtually all of

Kuwaiti production likely to be out of the market for years, Saudi Arabia and other producers must produce well over their quotas for a long time. If, for example, these suppliers were to return to their pre-war quotas, with Iraq and Kuwait still out of the market, Opec output would fall from 22.7m barrels today, to about 18m barrels. Such a decline would generate a price explosion.

### Marginal adjustments

What is needed, instead, is marginal adjustments to current levels of production in the short term. The agreement reached in Geneva was for the current official Opec ceiling of 22.5m barrels to be lowered, voluntarily, to 22.3m barrels for the second quarter of 1991. The Saudis believe that, with Soviet output falling and stocks needing to be replenished, the market will be able to absorb this level of production at current prices. They are probably too optimistic, but the resultant fall in prices should be modest. In any case, with the world economy weakening, a limited decline in oil prices would certainly be better than the increase that the Opec hawks wanted Saudi Arabia to deliver.

If the near-term prospect looks tolerable, the same can be said for the longer term. With Saudi Arabia talking of raising its sustainable output to 10m barrels a day and rejecting any notion of returning to its official quota, a war over output seems certain.

Unless demand for oil explodes over the next several years, the world cannot absorb production from Opec's 27m barrels a day. Yet this is what Opec would deliver if the Iraqis and Kuwaitis were to return to the market at pre-war levels, without adjustment elsewhere.

Something will have to give. Since it should not be the price, Saudi Arabia will have to accept cuts in production. The only question is what proportion of the total cut it will have to bear itself. If it refuses to be flexible about its output and market share, it will almost certainly find itself in a destabilising price war.

The Kingdom may have delivered the opening shot in Geneva, but this battle has hardly started.

## Employing the unemployed

THE UK government is dithering about a proposed temporary work scheme for the unemployed. Yesterday's unemployment figures will have added to pressure to announce such an initiative in the Budget.

The case for such an announcement is overwhelming. Together, the recession and the inflexibility of wage bargaining mean that UK unemployment will probably be above the EC average by the end of the year. Government-funded work programmes are an essential part of the mix in ensuring that the unemployed have the necessary skills, information and motivation to take up new jobs when the economy recovers.

Mr Michael Howard, the employment secretary, appears to accept the arguments for a temporary work scheme in principle, but is bogged down in an argument over who should run it. The bidders are his own department and the nationwide network of Training and Enterprise Councils, set up to revitalise Britain's training system.

The outcome matters. Although the Tecs, which are dominated by business leaders, still have a great deal to prove, they will be seriously undermined if the government decides that they are not up to the task of administering this latest injection of public funds.

Also, the whole point of a localised public-private sector approach to training and schemes for the unemployed is that it is flexible and appropriate to local circumstances. The Tecs cannot be run as if they were simply an agency of a government department; they need to be able to read the market for their services and to tailor their products to that market to the maximum extent feasible.

### Broader Tec role

The Tecs should therefore be asked to co-ordinate the scheme. They can then best ensure that as many jobs as possible are provided by the private sector and that the experience gained is thus most useful to the unemployed when they come to seek a "real" job again.

Another aspect of the row concerns the question of

whether any new scheme should contain a fixed training component. The Tecs already have one programme, Employment Training, which provides vocational training and experience for the unemployed. Funding for this, however, is seriously inadequate given the speed at which the dole queues are lengthening.

### Question of retraining

These are, however, separate problems. It is a mistake for the Tecs to argue, as some have, that all support for the unemployed must involve retraining. Many of those who lose their jobs in a recession, especially in a short, sharp recession, merely need to be tipped over to the next job opportunity. Dogma is out of place in addressing the problems of the unemployed.

The government should be happy to see Tecs manage a portfolio of schemes and to seek to offer the best opportunity to each individual. Part of that tailoring also requires that the system of wages and allowances is structured in a way that does not encourage individuals to choose the wrong scheme for the wrong reasons.

Basically, temporary work schemes without training need to offer something like the going pay rate if they are to be attractive to the unemployed and avoid unnecessarily displacing other workers. Allowances for training schemes should be set according to different criteria. It is also important to get right the periods of maximum entitlement to any scheme. This is also one way of reinforcing restrictions on people drawing benefits for long periods while still turning down job available.

The government has since last autumn given the impression first that it did not believe a recession was happening and then that it did not need to respond to the rise in unemployment.

The chancellor should take his opportunity to put this right next week and Mr Howard should stop the infighting between his department and the Tecs. Making the Tec's effective will be his biggest challenge in the coming months; the stakes are very high.

### Picture story

■ It is hard to know who'll be most upset by Walter Annenberg's generous decision to give his \$1bn art collection to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Frustration is not confined to other direct contenders such as the galleries of Philadelphia, the foundation of the Annenberg family fortune, and Washington.

Both Sotheby's and Christie's must be miffed at not getting the chance to auction one of the world's last great private collections: eight Cézannes, six Monets, five van Goghs, and four Gauguins among dozens. Just think of the lost publicity and commissions.

What's more, cash-strapped media tycoon Rupert Murdoch might also be feeling blue. If his News Corporation hadn't paid such a silly price for Annenberg's Triangle Publications in 1988, the donation to the Met would probably not have been anywhere near as generous. It has been estimated that Murdoch paid between \$500m and \$1bn too much for Triangle, publisher of the *TV Guide*.

But why the Met? While it has become a magnet for newly minted billionaires like Henry Kravis and Saul Steinberg, Annenberg is old money. The answer could well be one of those mysterious social dramas that will make a good read some day hence.

For the moment the moral seems to be that, if you don't build a private museum for your cultural loot, give it to an institution rich enough to keep the collection not just intact, but prominently inscribed with your name.

### Due to...

■ Three weeks ago, with the UK public clamouring to know why its railways were reduced to chaos by a well forecast cold snap, British Rail chairman

Guy de Jonquieres and Andrew Fisher chart the obstacles Daimler-Benz must overcome if its diversification strategy is to succeed

## Sizeable challenge for the colossus

A improbable flash of humour livens up the austere Stuttgart office of Mr Edzard Reuter, chief executive of Daimler-Benz. On his desk is a brightly-coloured cartoon of a dinosaur, bearing the caption: "History is full of giants who couldn't adapt."

The message, however, is deadly serious. Since the 63-year-old Mr Reuter took over in 1987, he has pursued a visionary strategy intended to secure the future of Europe's largest manufacturing group by forcing the pace of its evolution far beyond the production of luxury cars and trucks.

Since the mid-1980s Daimler has gobbed up most of Germany's aerospace sector and a chunk of its electronics industry. After taking over the aircraft maker Dornier, it purchased electrical and electronic group AEG and took full control of the diesel and aero engine manufacturer Motoren und Turbinen Union (MTU).

In 1989, after tortuous and politically controversial negotiations with Bonn, Daimler acquired the government's 51 per cent stake in Messerschmitt Bölkow Blohm (MBB), Germany's main military aircraft company and a leading partner in the European Airbus programme. It has since raised its holding to 80 per cent.

Still unclear, however, is just what kind of animal Mr Reuter and other top managers want Daimler to become — and whether its headlong rush into unrelated fields will not pile up more problems than it is intended to solve.

Daimler says it has two goals. One is to offset stagnating vehicle sales by expanding into high-technology growth markets, particularly aerospace. The other is to strengthen the automotive businesses by applying advanced technologies developed by the recently acquired companies.

However, the group has still to sat-

urpency, and though some of its operations are solid second-rank performers, it is still losing money. "The leaders in any type of business are not for sale," admits Dr Gerhard Liener, Daimler's finance director.

Furthermore, AEG is a pot-pourri of businesses. As well as microelectronics and factory automation, it spans mature businesses such as white goods, typewriters and office products, electricity transmission, traffic control systems and rail equipment. Daimler says it aims to use some of these activities to become a supplier of integrated transport systems.

Much will depend on conjuring from the acquisitions more than the sum of their parts. Dr Liener says it will take 10 years to reorganise and achieve acceptable profitability. With two-thirds of Daimler's equity in friendly hands — Deutsche Bank, leading German industrial groups and Kuwaiti are among its biggest shareholders — its top managers can take a confident long-term view.

However, the slowdown in the world economy and the weak dollar are making life harder for a group which earns more than half its sales abroad. "We are under pressure short-term, no doubt about it," says Mr Reuter. "We cannot wait for long-term developments instead of solving our short-term problems."

Simultaneously, the group must fend off growing Japanese competition in luxury cars, its largest business and source of most of its profits. Its hopes of retaining market leadership are pinned on an ambitious programme of new models.

Daimler also needs to rethink its production methods. Its efficiency lags far behind that of producers such as Toyota which, according to one authoritative estimate, needs one sixth the man-hours to assemble a luxury saloon. Unless the gap can be narrowed, Mercedes risks in the longer run becoming a high-priced niche producer.

In the past 18 months Daimler has appointed new heads to its main businesses, grouped Dornier, MTU and MBB under the umbrella of Deutsche Aerospace (Dasa) and created a new services division. However, it is only now really tackling the task of rationalising its acquisitions — and trimming fat is as high a priority as charting future expansion.

AEG needs to stem heavy losses in office systems and in household appliances. Mr Ernst Georg Stöckel, who took over as president of AEG late last year, is considering turning both operations and the company's small factory automation unit into joint ventures. If a suitable partner cannot be found, he says, office systems production may have to be chopped.

Dasa, meanwhile, is combating through its newly-acquired activities to eliminate unnecessary duplication and peripheral operations. "When you buy a business, you may use only 70 per cent of it," says Mr Jürgen Schrempp, Dasa's president. "Good management also means knowing when to cut businesses."

Mr Schrempp's toughest task,

AEG was rescued from near-bankruptcy, and though some of its operations are solid second-rank performers, it is still losing money. "The leaders in any type of business are not for sale," admits Dr Gerhard Liener, Daimler's finance director.

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Mr Schrempp's toughest task,

though, will be to hoist Dasa into the aerospace big league. It can count on little help from defence, currently almost half its sales, where the prospect is at best for a steady contraction in orders during the next few years.

With production of the Tornado combat aircraft due to end next year on the basis of current orders, Dasa's hopes of remaining in fixed-wing military aircraft manufacturing hang on the planned European Fighter Aircraft (EFA). However, the German government is hesitating over whether to back EFA beyond the development stage.

Daimler executives insist Bonn will in the end authorise EFA production — or will decide to make a US aircraft under licence. But Professor Werner

Niefer, Daimler's deputy chief executive, admits: "If EFA doesn't come, of course we will have great problems."

Hence Mr Schrempp has set his sights firmly on commercial markets, where he aims to make Dasa "an equal partner which can bring something to the table". That means acquiring the expertise in systems management needed to develop from a sub-contracting role into a credible international projects leader.

Mr Schrempp's strategy relies heavily on international alliances. A year ago, MTU joined forces in aero engines with Pratt & Whitney. The deal outraged GE, MTU's long-standing aero engine partner, but Mr Schrempp says Pratt offered MTU a bigger say in decisions.

Dasa has since agreed with Aerospatiale of France and Alenia of Italy to study development of a new commuter aircraft, after talks on collaboration with British Aerospace failed. It has formed a helicopter joint venture with Aerospatiale, and is considering an alliance in satellites with either the French company or Britain's GEC-Marconi. Daimler is also discussing company-wide collaboration with Mitsubishi of Japan.

Ironically, however, Dasa's expansion plans are being more hindered than helped by its involvement in Airbus. While the German company has a big backlog of Airbus work, it is being severely squeezed by the weak dollar, the currency in which aircraft sales are priced. Though the German government partially guarantees Dasa against exchange rate losses on Airbus, the dollar's fall has helped the DM1.60 rate beyond which Dasa's sales are priced. The currency's partial guarantee of Dasa's debts has not been helpful.

A worried Daimler is now turning to Bonn once again for relief. One option, Mr Reuter suggests, would be for the government to write off the several billion D-Marks of subsidies granted to MBB before the Daimler takeover. But that would risk angering the US, which is already challenging the legality of Airbus subsidies.

Another, more extreme, possibility would be to hand responsibility for Airbus back to Bonn, as Daimler is entitled to do under its agreement with the government. Dr Liener says that if no way can be found to combat losses in prospect this year, that may be the only answer.

More likely, though, Daimler will seek to cut costs by shifting more Airbus work to cheaper locations outside Europe, while stepping up its campaign to turn the unwieldy Airbus consortium into a private company with its own management. Both solutions, however, could cut directly across Dasa's ambitions for a bigger role in aerospace.

As a mere shareholder in a privatised Airbus, Dasa would be powerless to steer development and production work its own way. Indeed, a truly independent Airbus management such as Daimler wants would in the long run have no obligation at all to give work to Dasa or other German subsidiaries.

Hence Dasa's immediate hopes of project leadership rest with its commercial airline project, in which it would be the single largest partner with a 50 per cent stake, initially. But the project faces many hurdles. Some industry experts doubt there is room for a new entrant in a market which is already overcrowded and subject to growing price competition.

An even bigger problem surrounds the financing of the project's \$2.3bn development cost. Daimler wants the German government to subsidise half its share. But Bonn seems less than enthusiastic, and the British government has made clear that it will oppose on principle any decision to grant subsidies.

The UK is also worried about the threat to British Aerospace's position in small airliners. It argues that the latest project would be best carried out by the Airbus consortium, which claims it could develop the aircraft much more cheaply by basing it on its existing A320 airliner.

Thus the stage seems set for a tense confrontation, which could impose serious strains on European industrial collaboration. Furthermore, any sign that Bonn was seriously considering subsidies for the Dasa project would be bound to invite angry protests from the US.

In spite of this looming controversy, Mr Reuter continues to insist that he wants aerospace to develop into a normal competitive business, just like trucks and cars. However, it is starting to look as if mastery of complex political power games will be as important to Daimler's diversification strategy as the engineering excellence, product quality and marketing skills for which it has been renowned.

## Who needs Auntie?

The BBC may be gutted by the politicians.

## Or undermined by

cable. Or overshadowed by satellite.

**I**t says something about the current standing of British criminal justice that the sorry tale of police misconduct and shoddy Home Office forensic standards which unfolded at London's Old Bailey in the past fortnight no longer seems shocking.

For the third time in less than two years, the criminal justice system has had to admit to having perpetrated and then perpetuated for an inexcusable length of time a grave miscarriage of justice.

First the Guildford Four,

then the related case of the Maguire Seven and now the Birmingham Six. The three cases have much in common.

They all arose out of the IRA's Birmingham bombing campaign of the autumn of 1974. The Guildford and Birmingham cases both involved disputed confession evidence subsequently altered by the police, apparently to smooth the prosecution's path. The Birmingham and Maguire cases centred on unreliable and now discredited forensic tests.

After the release of the Guildford Four in October 1989 there were those who argued that the law's confession of guilt in that case had been an encouraging sign for British justice: by overturning their convictions, it was said, the criminal justice system had shown it was capable of admitting its mistakes and correcting them.

After the release of the Birmingham Six this argument is no longer tenable. All three cases are an indictment of a system which could allow such miscarriages of justice to happen in the first place and then after more than 15 years still show marked reluctance to correct them.

It is not good enough to lay the blame for these injustices entirely at the door of corrupt police officers. All those involved, from the most junior detective constable through the Director of Public Prosecutions to Lord Lane, the Lord Chief Justice who presided over the men's appeal in 1987, must take a share of the blame.

The questions now are what needs to be done to restore the tarnished image of British justice and to ensure (within the limits of human fallibility) that similar miscarriages of justice do not happen again; or, failing that, how to set up a mechanism by which they can be promptly and efficiently corrected.

Mr Kenneth Baker, the home secretary, has announced the setting up of a Royal Commission on Criminal Justice chaired by Lord Runciman of Doxford. Its remit will cover all stages of the criminal process. The issues it will need to con-

## Dim image of British justice

**Robert Rice** on the reforms needed following the release of the Birmingham Six



Supporters of the Birmingham Six keep a vigil outside Wormwood Scrubs prison last Sunday

centrate on are already clear.

It must look again at police procedures and powers of detention and interrogation. After the Guildford case it was said by the former Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham that a similar case could not happen as a result of the introduction of the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE).

The act introduced safeguards for the rights of suspects detained and interrogated in police stations.

Under PACE codes of practice, suspects can no longer be held incommunicado save in certain limited circumstances.

They have the right to inform a chosen friend or relative of their detention. There is a right to legal advice and to have a solicitor present when being questioned. Also since the establishment of the Crown Prosecution Service the police are no longer responsible for both the investigation and prosecution of crime.

But do these changes guarantee that miscarriages of justice such as Guildford and Birmingham will be avoided in the future? Probably not.

For a start the Guildford, Maguire and Birmingham cases would still all have been classified as terrorist crimes. The suspects' detention and interrogation would therefore have been governed by the much more draconian procedures and police powers established by the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Even under

PACE procedures the suspect's rights, for example, to see a solicitor or to take eight hours rest, free from questioning, in any 24 hours could be withheld by the police.

The Royal Commission will therefore need to look again at the rights of suspects detained by the police, including those suspected of terrorist offences.

In particular, it should consider extending tape recording of police interviews with suspects, terrorist suspects included – or better still, recommend video recording them.

The Commission will also have to settle the issue of confession evidence. The Guildford and Birmingham cases have established beyond doubt the dangers of allowing convictions on the strength of confession evidence. Indeed, it could be argued that the absence of any requirement for some form of corroborative evidence, even if circumstantial, before someone can be convicted on the basis of a confession encourages police misconduct.

If corroborative evidence is not needed to secure a conviction the police may be sorely tempted to cut short an investigation by concentrating on obtaining a confession. In the Birmingham case, there was scientific and circumstantial evidence which appeared to corroborate the men's confessions. But the confessions formed an important plank of the case against them. Now

that it has been discredited and it has been shown that the police tinkered with it, the Commission may well have to take a wider look at this issue.

The most sensible recommendation that the Commission could make in this area would be that confession evidence should be inadmissible unless it can be established beyond reasonable doubt that the confession was made voluntarily – in other words, in the presence of an independent witness.

The Commission's main task, however, will be to examine the criminal appeals process. It will have to assess whether there is a need to widen the grounds for appeal laid out in the 1985 Criminal Justice Act and whether the Court of Appeal is the right body to review cases where there has been an alleged miscarriage of justice.

Would be enough to widen the present procedure to provide that if new evidence, or a re-assessment of old evidence, suggests a miscarriage may have been made, the whole case should be re-examined by the Appeal Court?

Again, probably not. The history of the judiciary's involvement in the Birmingham case has not been a happy one from Mr Justice Bridge's apparent hostility to the defence during the men's trial in 1975 through Lord Denning's rejection of the men's civil action against the police in 1980 to Lord Lane's forthright dismissal of the men's first appeal in 1987.

The judiciary's problems appear to stem from its reluctance to accept the fallibility of the system and its less explicable faith in the honesty and integrity of all police officers. Neither of these is likely to be easily overcome. A new body to investigate cases of alleged miscarriage of justice would seem to be the answer.

Several models have already been suggested. It could be an independent tribunal with the power to recommend – or even force – the Home Secretary to re-open cases, issue pardons or refer cases back to the Appeal Court. Or it could take the form of a permanent investigation body which owes more to the inquisitorial systems of justice common on the Continent than to England's accusatorial system. Constitutionally, the final decision on the overturning of convictions must rest with the Appeal Court, even if that decision amounted to little more than a rubber stamp.

The Commission must take its time in considering all these matters. For the sake of the British criminal justice system it cannot afford to get it wrong this time.

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## Stansted becomes London's third airport

Paul Betts explains why the £400m 'white elephant' may have a golden future



The cavernous interior of the new terminal building at Stansted, destined to become London's third airport

Picture: Ashley Ashurst

OPC Paul Betts explains why the £400m 'white elephant' may have a golden future

I S Queen Elizabeth going to open a new cathedral in the desert today? That is being how the impressive £400m ( \$740m) airport terminal complex at Stansted in the Essex countryside near London looks to many people.

In the opening of the new terminal, the BAA, formerly the British Airports Authority, the owner of Stansted, and developer of Stansted, has been passenger traffic fall 22 per cent at its eight airports in the past 10 weeks. Gatwick, whose based Air Europe and its parent International Leisure Group, Britain's second biggest travel concern, have collapsed. Those factors, compounded by changes in government air traffic regulations in the London area, have raised doubts in the future of Stansted that critics argue that the new airport complex will become an expensive white elephant.

Nonetheless, over the next 10 years Stansted is likely to provide a much-needed expansion

chamber to absorb the long-term increase in air travel demand.

About 1.2m travellers use Stansted every year. The new terminal will enable it to handle up to 8m, and a 280m extension of terminal facilities during the middle of the decade will further increase its capacity to about 15m.

The big international airports have come to seek to expand at Heathrow, the world's busiest international airport, or operate out of Gatwick, London's second largest airport. Of the large airlines, only Air France has decided to operate out of Stansted.

BA expects more big international carriers to turn to Stansted in the next few years to expand in the south-east of

England, because both Heathrow and Gatwick will have become saturated. Mr Robert Crandall, chairman of American Airlines, confirmed yesterday that his airline intended to start flying a Chicago-Stansted service next year.

The arrival of American will represent a significant boost for the airport and is expected to encourage other big carriers to consider serving Stansted.

"We always saw Stansted developing a network of short-medium-haul services," says Sir Norman Payne, BAA's chairman. "Provided carriers get the right aircraft size and flight frequencies, there is a good market at Stansted for travellers based in north and

east London and East Anglia."

Air UK, the regional carrier set up in 1980 in which KLM Royal Dutch Airlines owns a 14.9 per cent interest, has built up a strong base at Stansted and become Britain's third largest scheduled airline.

Stansted is also expected to attract more charter business.

Many of Stansted's difficulties are political. In the early 1970s, it seemed doomed to remain a small, quiet regional airport when the Conservative party government of the day decided to develop a new airport at Maplin Sands, off the Essex coast. The subsequent Labour party government called the Maplin plan in 1974 and Stansted was back in the

running as the preferred site for an future airport for the London area.

Before the current development of Stansted received the go-ahead in 1985, the project was caught up in a huge political storm. The airport is likely to be at the centre of another political controversy when plans to expand the terminal and possibly build a second runway are formally tabled.

The government set up a working party last year to consider future air travel requirements for the south-east of England - options include a new runway and a fifth terminal at Heathrow.

Between now and 2005, even allowing for fluctuations in UK

and world economic activity, the number of air passengers travelling in and out of the London region alone is expected to double from the present 65m a year to more than 120m.

The Civil Aviation Authority believes a new runway in the London area will then become necessary. In all accounts, the most feasible new runway solution will be Stansted.

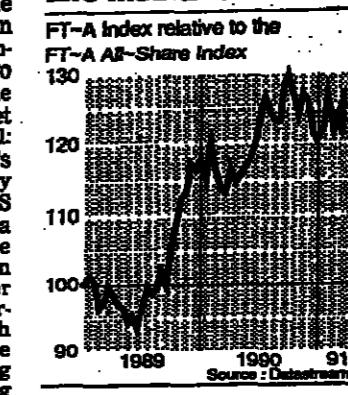
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## THE LEX COLUMN

### The irresistible rise of equities

#### Life Insurance



Source: Datastream

There was a certain grimness yesterday about the FTSE index breaching 2500 on the same day that UK unemployment went back above two million. As it happens, the main impetus for the market was once again international, in particular, Mr Greenspan's remarks the previous day about the scope for lower US interest rates, which led to a jump in US equities. But the bigger than expected rise in UK unemployment, together with the smaller rise in average earnings, provoked a fresh burst of optimism about base rates. The forward sterling market is now discounting rates two full points lower by June, or a half point out every three weeks or so between now and a snap election.

The more immediate question is whether the UK equity market can sustain these gains.

One reason for thinking so is the approaching end of the March quarter. Another is the very high level of customer volume, which has run at well over \$1bn on 11 out of the past 12 trading days. At

some point, if it may occur to the more prudent fund manager that locking in today's gains by switching into cash would produce a year-end return equivalent to 2,650 on the FTSE, a gain of nearly 25 per cent on the year. But in a market which has gone up 450 points in the last eight weeks, such prudence may be in short supply.

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